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AESCHINES

AGAINST CTESIPHON

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RICHARDSON

GINN & COMPANY

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE

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abs. = absolute, absolutely.	def. = definite.
acc. = accusative.	dem. = demonstrative.
acc. to = according to.	dep. = deponent.
act. = active, actively.	dim. = diminutive.
adj. = adjective, adjectively.	dir. = direct.
adv. = adverb, adverbial, adverbially.	disc. = discourse.
Aeol. = Aeolic.	Dor. = Doric.
antec. = antecedent.	edit. = edition, editor.
aor. = aorist.	edit. = editions, editors.
apod. = apodosis.	<i>e.g.</i> = <i>for example</i> .
App. = Appendix.	encl. = enclitic.
appos. = apposition, appositive.	Eng. = English.
art. = article.	Ep. = Epic.
Att. = Attic.	epith. = epithet.
attrib. = attributive.	equiv. = equivalent.
aug. = augment.	esp. = especial, especially.
c., cc. = chapter, chapters (when numerals follow).	<i>etc.</i> = <i>and so forth</i> .
<i>cf.</i> = <i>confer</i> (in referring to a parallel passage).	excl. = exclamation.
chap. = chapter.	f., ff. = following (after numerical statements).
comp. = comparative.	fem. = feminine.
cond. = condition, conditional.	<i>fin.</i> = <i>sub fine</i> .
conj. = conjunction.	freq. = frequently.
const. = construe, construction.	fut. = future.
contr. = contraction, contracted.	G. = Goodwin's <i>Greek Grammar</i> .
co-ord. = co-ordinate.	gen. = genitive.
dat. = dative.	GMT. = Goodwin's <i>Moods and Tenses</i> .
decl. = declension.	H. = Hadley's <i>Greek Grammar</i> .
	hist. pres. = historical present.



*ibid.* = in the same place.

*id.* = the same.

*i.e.* = that is.

impers. = impersonal, impersonally.

impf. = imperfect.

inv. = imperative.

*in.* = *ad initium*.

indef. = indefinite.

indic. = indicative.

indir. = indirect.

inf. = infinitive.

interr. = interrogative, interrogatively.

intr. = intransitive, intransitively.

Introd. = Introduction.

Ion. = Ionic.

Kr. *Spr.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre*, *Erster Theil*.

Kr. *Dial.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre*, *Zweiter Theil*.

κτέ. = καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

κτλ. = καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Kühn. = Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*.

Lat. = Latin.

L. & S. = Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

*l.c.* = *loco citato*.

lit. = literal, literally.

masc. = masculine.

mid. = middle.

Ms., Mss. = manuscript, manuscripts.

n. = note.

neg. = negative.

neut. = neuter.

nom. = nominative.

obj. = object.

obs. = observe, observation.

opp. to = opposed to.

opt. = optative.

p., pp. = page, pages.

part. gen. = partitive genitive.

partic. = participle.

pass. = passive, passively.

pers. = person, personal, personally.

pf. = perfect.

pl. = plural.

plpf. = pluperfect.

pred. = predicate.

prep. = preposition.

pres. = present.

priv. = privative.

prob. = probable, probably.

pron. = pronoun.

prop. = proper, properly.

prot. = protasis.

quot. = quoted, quotation.

*q.v.* = *which see*.

refl. = reflexive, reflexively.

rel. = relative, relatively.

Rem. = remark.

S. = Schmidt's *Rhythmic and Metric*.

*sc.* = *scilicet*.

Schol. = scholiast.

sent. = sentence.

sing. = singular.

subj. = subject.

subjv. = subjunctive.

subord. = subordinate.

subst. = substantive, substantively.

sup. = superlative.

*s.v.* = *sub voce*.

trans. = transitive, transitively.

viz. = namely.

*v.l.* = *varia lectio*.

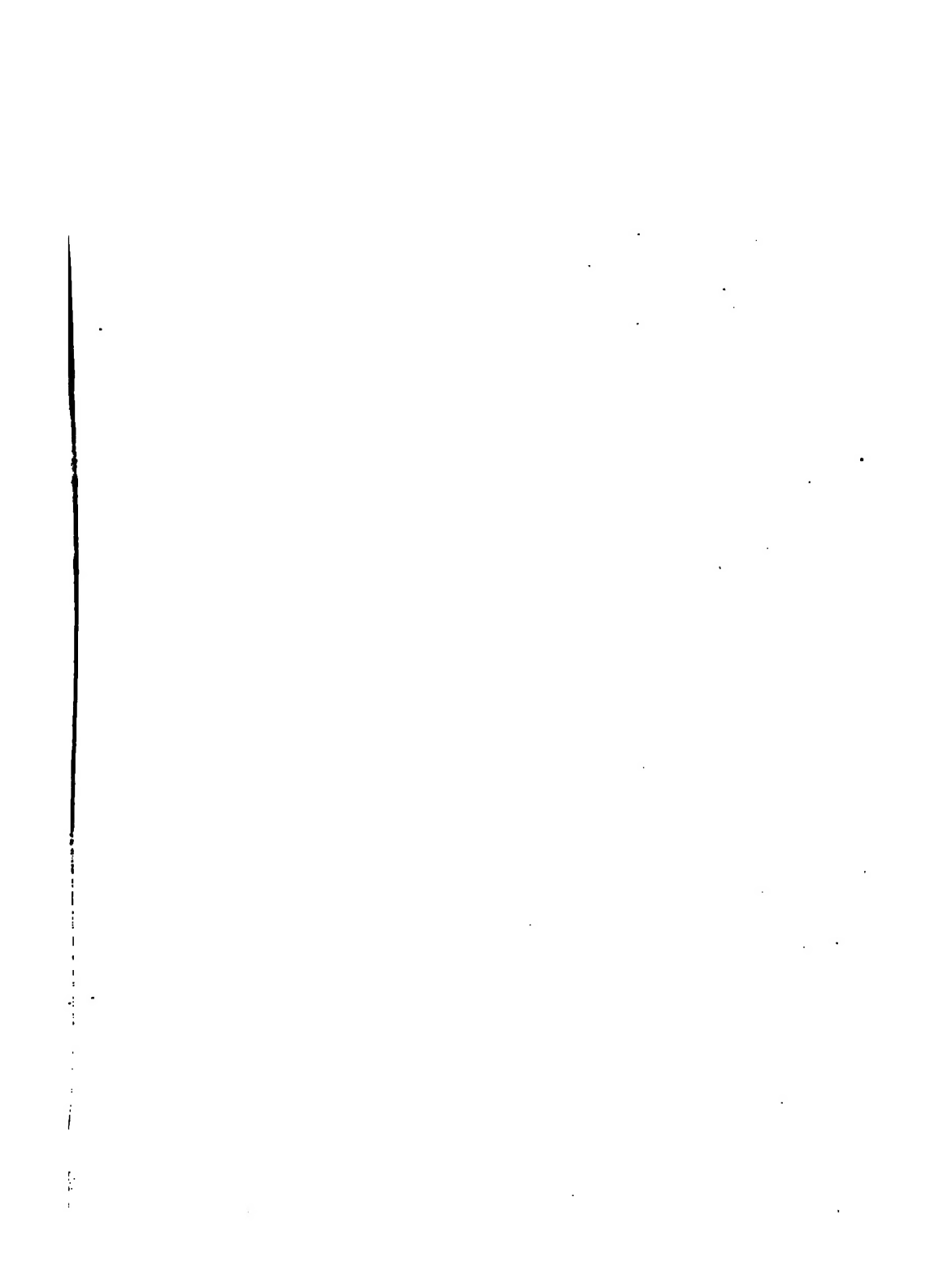
voc. = vocative.

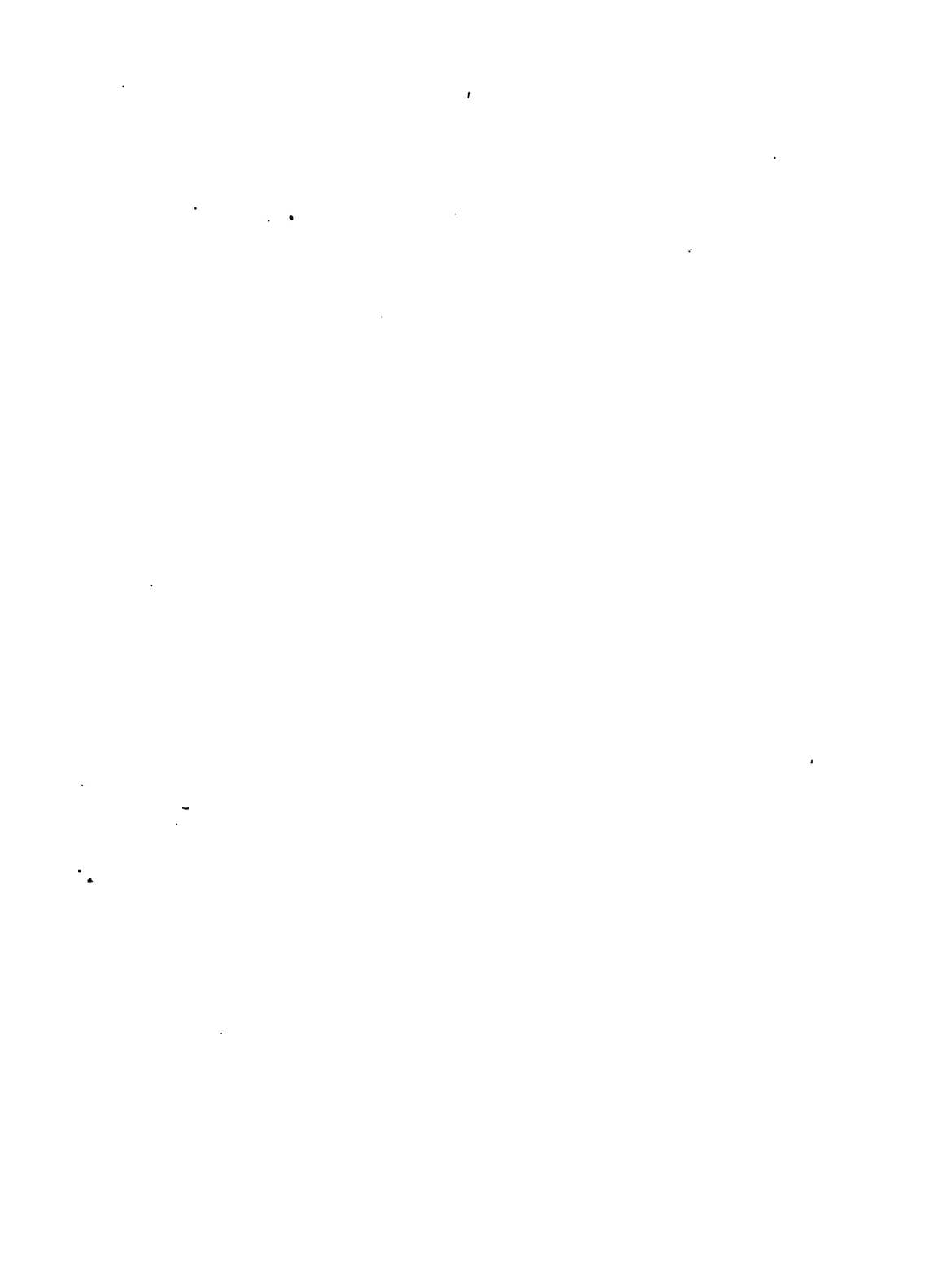
§, §§ = section, sections.

Plurals are formed generally by adding *s*.

Generally small Roman numerals (lower-case letters) are used in referring to the books of a author; but A, B, Γ, etc. in referring to the books of the *Iliad*, and α, β, γ, etc. in referring to the books of the *Odyssey*.

In abbreviating the names of Greek authors and of their works, Liddell and Scott's List is generally followed.





COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS  
EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS D. SEYMOUR.

A E S C H I N E S  
A G A I N S T C T E S I P H O N

(ON THE CROWN)

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF WEIDNER'S EDITION

BY

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON

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## PREFACE.

AESCHINES has gained more than he has lost by the fate which has associated him so intimately with the great rival who overshadows him. While his orations have an interest of their own, that interest is greatly increased by the fact that in each of them he stands opposed to Demosthenes.

The *Oration against Ctesiphon* should be read as a companion-piece to Demosthenes *On the Crown*. This necessary connection has been kept in view in the present edition.

The basis of the present edition is the German edition of Andreas Weidner, Director of the Gymnasium at Dortmund, who has kindly given his consent to this use of his work. His commentary has been freely modified to meet the needs of advanced college students in America.

Weidner's text, which is the unique feature of his work, has been substantially reproduced. Suspecting wholesale interpolation, he has resorted to severe pruning. A summary of his method is given, and the main changes which he has made are noted in the Appendix, where some judgments upon his work are also cited. Of his own services he thus modestly speaks in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, Vol. CXVII. (1878) p. 854, in reply to an attack which passed the bounds generally set for decent criticism: "Ich fühle mich von fehlern und irrthümern nicht frei, aber ich bin mir bewusst redlich für die verbesserung des Aischinestextes gestrebt zu haben, und ich bin überzeugt dasz, wenn schliesslich meine ansicht über die überlieferung nicht durchdringen sollte, meine arbeit doch nicht vergeblich gewesen ist."



So many references have been made in these notes to the following works that the author's name only has been used instead of the full title:—

*Schäfer, Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 1st edition.

*Schömann, Greek Antiquities*, Vol. I. Translated by Hardy and Mann. Rivingtons, London, 1880.

*Grote, History of Greece*, 12 vols., Murray, London, 1884.

*Boeckh, Public Economy of the Athenians*. Translated by Lamb.

The references to the notes have been made with old style numerals for the sections, and ordinary numerals for the lines. Thus, 8. 4 means § 8, line 4.

The editor cannot easily express his great indebtedness to Professor White for the close and kindly interest with which he has followed the work. He also acknowledges himself under renewed obligations to his friend and former colleague, Professor Wright, who has read all the proofs and given helpful suggestions. Professor Goodwin and Professor Seymour, though occupied with other editorial work, have also kindly rendered assistance.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, August, 1889.

## INTRODUCTION.

### EARLY LIFE OF AESCHINES.

1. Aeschines was born in 390 or 389 B.C.; for in his oration against Timarchus, delivered in 345 B.C., he speaks of himself as in his forty-fifth year.<sup>1</sup> He was consequently five or six years older than Demosthenes.

In regard to his parents and his early life, our only sources of information are the statements of himself and Demosthenes. The so-called authorities<sup>2</sup> draw their statements only from these sources, and we are, fortunately, better able to judge them here than in their accounts of the closing years of the orator's life, where they are drawing from sources unknown to us. It is natural that these authorities should repeat those piquant details in which Demosthenes *On the Crown* (xviii.) and *On the Embassy* (xix.) abound. We even find the *Vita Anonymi* accepting it for a fact that Aeschines' mother was commonly called Empusa, the hobgoblin. But it seems almost a crime, when a modern writer accepts such statements as true.<sup>3</sup>

2. The calumnies of Demosthenes are now so well understood to be without any basis of reality that they hardly call for refutation. On account of their persistent effect, however, it may be well to mention why they have been discredited. In his oration *On the Embassy* Demosthenes is sufficiently embittered against Aeschines to say the worst things at his command about him and his parents. There the father, Atrometus, is a poor schoolmaster who gets a living, to be sure, but is the last man to think of

<sup>1</sup> i. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Decem Orat. Vit.; Aeschin. Vit. Anon.*; Apollonius, *Aeschin. Vit.*; Philostratus, *Soph. Vit.*; Suidas, s. v. *Aes-*

*chines*; Libanius, *Hypothesis to Dem.* xix.; Photius, *Bibl.* lxi.

<sup>3</sup> See Westermann, *Gesch. der griech. Beredsamkeit*, § 58.

## INTRODUCTION.

serving the state in any conspicuous way.<sup>1</sup> Aeschines and his brother are only ordinary fellows, τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους.<sup>2</sup> The mother, Glaucotea, is accused of misconduct in the management of a priesthood, perhaps not too reputable in itself, in order to obtain money from the worshippers.<sup>3</sup>

In the oration *On the Crown* the father has become a school-master's *slave*, and a bad one at that, bound with fetters to keep him within bounds, rearing in the most oppressive poverty the future orator, who shares his menial employments. His real name is not Atrometus, but Tromes, until his upstart son puts two extra syllables to it.<sup>4</sup>

The mother experiences a still worse transformation. She now appears as a prostitute of the most shameless sort, for whom it is a promotion to be taken in charge by the galley-slave Phormio.<sup>5</sup>

It would be far too charitable to suppose that Demosthenes had in the thirteen years' interval heard from new sources this more unfavorable gossip about Aeschines' parents. His own incensed soul is doubtless the source of it all. Aeschines had just taunted him with a Scythian origin,<sup>6</sup> and he wished to say something very bitter in reply. He probably achieved a temporary triumph, but at the expense of being placed for all time on a 'bad eminence' as an Aristophanes of the bema. He thereby ceased to be an authority on Aeschines' parentage, the manifest fiction of xviii.<sup>7</sup> throwing discredit on the otherwise not incredible statements of xix.<sup>8</sup>

3. Aeschines' own account of his origin is given in ii. 147 ff. with a simple dignity that commands credence. According to this account, his father, Atrometus, was an Athenian citizen, belong-

<sup>1</sup> Dem. xix. 249, 281 f.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* 237.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* 200, 249, 281.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. xviii. 129 f., 258.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* 129.

<sup>6</sup> §§ 171 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The name Tromes selected for Aeschines' father is significant of the character of the whole attack. This name, signifying 'Trembler,' would never be given to a child; and if by any chance it got fastened to a slave,

he would not, on becoming a citizen, assume such a name as Atrometus, which would be a continual reminder of the other. The grain of truth in the whole matter may be that Atrometus was familiarly called Tromes, just as 'Zeuxippus' was shortened to 'Zeuxis,' and 'Lysanias' to 'Lysias.'

<sup>8</sup> The whole case is fairly reviewed in Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I. pp. 194 ff. and Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III. 2. pp. 130 f.

ing to a family of some distinction having access to high priestly offices. Born in 437 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> he grew up in the troubled years of the Peloponnesian War. In that war he lost his property, at a time when good families in Attica were probably as proud of their poverty as the French aristocracy under the first empire. In his early days he had aspirations to excel in athletics. From this circumstance, as well as from his long life, we may infer that he was gifted with that fine physique which appears in the next generation.<sup>2</sup> Banished by the Thirty Tyrants, he distinguished himself as a soldier in Persian service in Asia Minor, and then took part in the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants and the restoration of the democracy. All Aeschines' relatives on his mother's side, he asserts, were free-born Athenians; and the few words which he devotes to her in II. 148 show plainly that he felt that there was no cause for blushing.<sup>3</sup> In regard to her priesthood we have no certain knowledge, for Aeschines makes just as little reply to the early attack as to the later, and his silence on this point may be as justly construed favorably as the reverse.

The poverty of Atrometus was probably the basis on which the whole fabric of Demosthenes' slander rested. The position attained by Aeschines and his brothers was in striking contrast to their somewhat lowly origin. Though they had doubtless risen by native merit, Demosthenes seems to have wished to remind them that they did not belong in the same station with those who had never been poor. From this point of view, to say nothing of the vilest slanders heaped upon the mother, one feels it hard to find words properly to characterize such passages as Dem. XVIII. 257 f., 265.

4. Should any one feel that Aeschines is not to be trusted even when he wears a seemingly honest face, and cherish a lingering suspicion that there was something disreputable about his origin, three considerations might be submitted. (1) Orations like those

<sup>1</sup> He was 94 years old at the time of Aeschines' trial, 343 B.C. Cf. II. 147. He appears to have survived the acquittal of his son only a year. See on § 191. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Tradition is constant in assigning this excellence to Aeschines. The

brother Philochares also is spoken of (II. 149) as *ἐν γυμνασίοις διατρέβων*.

<sup>3</sup> As an additional proof of Glaucotea's respectability we have (II. 78) the statement that her brother Cleobulus, the son of Glaucus of Acharnae, was a general of some note.



of Aeschines, whatever their deficiencies and positive blemishes, could hardly be the productions of a man who leaped from the gutter into the senate-chamber. (2) If Aeschines, a slave by birth, had stolen citizenship, as Demosthenes frequently alleges,<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes would have stopped his troublesome mouth with a suit easily conducted, rather than allow him to cut through so many of his own cherished schemes. (3) That three brothers, all born slaves, should work their way into the highest offices of the state, and become ambassadors, generals, and state treasurers,<sup>2</sup> caps the climax of incredibility.

Unquestionably Aeschines lacked true greatness of soul, but of his legitimate and respectable birth there is no reasonable doubt.

5. There is abundant evidence that he had a good school education. Probably his father taught him. Limited means doubtless prevented him from being elaborately trained in rhetoric and philosophy.<sup>3</sup> So much the more does he pride himself on the *μαιδεία* that he has enjoyed, in a manner perhaps characteristic of those whose attainments are not great.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, his main education seems to have been that of the self-made man, which comes from mingling with affairs. That he had natural gifts for oratory, and thought well of them, appears from passages like II. 41 and III. 228. That his natural gifts were supplemented by work appears at least from the care with which he revised his orations for publication.

6. The first step in Aeschines' upward career was taken in military service. After serving as *ἐφηβορ* his appointed two years, in the home guard,<sup>5</sup> he was engaged at the age of twenty-four in the skirmish at Nemea, where he so distinguished himself as to be praised by the general, Chares.<sup>6</sup> This was an auspicious beginning, which he followed up in several more important engagements, winning his laurels in the battle of Tamynae 350 B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. XVIII. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. XIX. 237.

<sup>3</sup> The desire to connect in some way all illustrious contemporaries, doubtless accounts for reports making him the scholar of Isocrates, Plato, and even of Socrates! The Scholiast on

II. 1 gives Demetrius Phalereus as authority for this connection with Plato and Socrates, but the Schol. probably confounded Socrates with Isocrates.

<sup>4</sup> See on § 117. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See on § 122. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II. 168.

when he was chosen by Phocion, as a reward of valor, to bear the news with one comrade to Athens, and received a crown on the field and at Athens.<sup>1</sup> His frequent campaigns in an age when most Athenians shunned military service are a little surprising. The question may be raised, but not answered, whether it was the soldier's pay or the charm of the service that attracted him. At any rate he did not devote himself permanently to the profession, like his older brother Philochares, who became a general, and was serving his third consecutive year in that office in 343 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In view of Aeschines' military services, it may be claimed that Demosthenes never uttered a more inappropriate jibe than *θανμάσιος στρατιώτης, ὁ Ζεῦ*.<sup>3</sup>

7. But long before his last Euboean campaign Aeschines had entered upon an employment which not only afforded a good support, but was an excellent training for public life. He served as a clerk (*γραμματεὺς*), probably during a long period (with the exception of an interval devoted to the drama), passing through all the stages of this work, from the position of a sub-clerk (*ὑπογραμματεὺς*), or helper of petty magistrates<sup>4</sup> for mere pay, up to the honorable office of *ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*.<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes pours out his ridicule upon Aeschines for this service, employing the word *ὑπογραμματεῶν* (xix. 70) of his functions even in the highest rank. He even makes it a matter of reproach that he thereby secured a living at the public table.<sup>6</sup>

If any chronology can be gathered out of the passages in Demosthenes bearing on this subject,<sup>7</sup> it would appear that Aeschines served in the minor grades of clerkship before becoming an actor, and then, failing in this, proceeded on the strength of his experience as sub-clerk to the higher grades conferred by vote of the people.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II. 169, 170. See on 87 *fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 149. He may have been a general chosen for show rather than service. Cf. Dem. iv. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dem. xviii. 261, *ἐπηγετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδόλοις*. xix. 249.

<sup>5</sup> For the different clerks at Athens,

see Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 429 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 200, 249.

<sup>7</sup> A complete list of passages in which this function of Aeschines is ridiculed is Dem. xix. 70, 95, 200, 249, 314; xviii. 127, 209, 261.

<sup>8</sup> See Schäfer, I. p. 229 note.



To the recommendation of Eubulus, who came into power on the downfall of Aristophon,<sup>1</sup> 354 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> he probably owed this election. That in the earlier stages of his career he had been helped by Aristophon appears likely from Dem. XVIII. 162: possibly he had been elected clerk of the Senate even under his administration.<sup>3</sup> To this experience in clerkships may be traced his enthusiasm for public documents.<sup>4</sup>

8. This rise of Aeschines seems to have carried the other members of the family along with him. Perhaps the military career of Philochares was independent of it; but Aphobetus was probably helped by Aeschines, who was older and probably more gifted. We hear of Aphobetus as associated with Aeschines in the highest clerkship.<sup>5</sup> The chief distinction which he reached, however, was the appointment as state treasurer (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*), the highest financial officer in the state.<sup>6</sup> This office, though elective, was doubtless procured for him by Eubulus, who, after serving as state treasurer for one term of four years, was precluded by the constitution from re-election, and secured himself in the control of the finances of the state by procuring the appointment of a man who would be thoroughly subservient to him. As this would make Aphobetus' term of office extend over the eventful period of the fall of Olynthus (350-346 B.C.), it is possible that Demosthenes has him in mind in III. 29, οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν.

That Aphobetus had also before 343 B.C. been sent on an embassy to the king of Persia<sup>7</sup> shows how much at home the family had become in the high offices of the state.

Meanwhile Aeschines himself had married into an excellent family. His father-in-law Philodemus was a man of influence in his deme, whose kind offices Demosthenes employed in securing enrolment among his fellow-demesmen.<sup>8</sup> His brother-in-law Philon was a good hoplite<sup>9</sup> and a wealthy citizen<sup>10</sup> of good repute,

<sup>1</sup> See on § 139. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For the fixing of this date, see Schäfer, I. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Less likely from the fact that Dem. XIX. 249 speaks of this living at the public expense as lasting only two years.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 75, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dem. XIX. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. II. 149.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. II. 150.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. II. 151.

<sup>10</sup> In Dem. XVIII. 312 Aeschines is

connection with whom Aeschines is proud to claim. From this fortunate marriage Aeschines had, before 343 B.C., two sons and a daughter, and he speaks like a man thoroughly happy in his family.<sup>1</sup>

9. Aeschines' connection with the theatre, to which he seems to have turned aside from his chosen calling, probably exercised a considerable influence upon his oratory, filling his mind with dramatic situations,<sup>2</sup> and inclining him to a pathetic style.<sup>3</sup> The direct results of his acting were doubtless unsatisfactory to him. To assume that he was ashamed of this part of his life, because he does not reply to the frequent taunts of Demosthenes on this point, would be unwarranted, since the orators prefer counter-thrust to refutation. Even the frequent thrusts about making base and petty gains from his clerkships elicit only the brief question (II. 152) *ἢ τί πώποτε ἀσχημον ἔνεκα χρημάτων πράξας*; The calling of an actor at Athens was not disreputable, and the best actors were fêted at home and courted by foreign potentates. Even only moderate success was nothing of which one needed to be particularly ashamed. Probably Aeschines never attempted anything higher than the role of *τριταγωνιστής*. But Demosthenes himself<sup>4</sup> shows us that he was associated in that capacity with Theodorus and Aristodemus. Theodorus was the most celebrated actor of his times.<sup>5</sup> Aristodemus was only less celebrated than Theodorus, and esteemed it an honor to take the second role with him. It was a distinction conferred upon Aeschines that these two illustrious actors should associate him with themselves as *τριταγωνιστής*. To play the role of Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone* to the satisfaction of these two great associates must have required talents not at all contemptible. Had Aeschines remained on the stage he might not always have remained a *τριταγωνιστής* any more than he remained a *ὑπογραμματεὺς*. His fine form and that voice which so excited Demosthenes' envy<sup>6</sup> were

said to have inherited more than five talents from him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II. 152.

<sup>2</sup> See on § 209. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See on §§ 133 *in.*, 153 *in.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dem. XIX. 246.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Paus. I. 37. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dem. XIX. 337-340, 126, 199, 206, 208, 209, 216, 336; XVIII. 127, 132, 259, 280, 285, 291, 309, 313. See on § 228. 3.

a capital out of which he was clever enough to profit largely, even if he had no enthusiasm for the actor's art, as Schäfer (I. p. 225) assumes.

There was a somewhat widespread tradition that Aeschines' retirement from the stage was caused by a most mortifying failure. This failure is described quite fully in the *Vita Anon.* 11 f., and Demochares, Demosthenes' nephew, is named as authority for the story. According to this account Aeschines, while acting the title-role in Sophocles' *Oenomaus*, in chasing Pelops across the stage, fell, and had to be lifted by the chorus-master.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that we have here the details of the event twice alluded to by Demosthenes.<sup>2</sup> That he simply alludes to it as something too well-known to need describing, instead of revelling in the details, makes him, in this matter, a credible witness. But that he appears to know nothing of it in xix. makes it a little doubtful. There the case is bad enough for Aeschines; the audience is represented as not only hissing him off the stage, but as coming almost to the point of stoning him;<sup>3</sup> but not a word is said about *Oenomaus*. In xviii. 262, where Demosthenes represents Aeschines as acting in company with two second rate actors at imminent peril to his life, under a shower of figs, olives, and other missiles, it is clear that we are in the realm of fiction.<sup>4</sup>

#### POLITICAL CAREER OF AESCHINES.

10. The fall of Olynthus, 348 B.C., brought Aeschines from his clerkship into public life.<sup>5</sup> For a few months after that event

<sup>1</sup> Such a fall would leave of a Greek actor little but a wreck to be picked up and carried off piecemeal. See *Transact. of Am. Phil. Assn. for 1885*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. xviii. 180, 242.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 337.

<sup>4</sup> A list of the passages in which the acting of Aeschines is ridiculed is Dem. xix. 200, 245, 246 ff., 337; xviii. 129, 139, 180, 209, 242, 262, 265, 267, 313.

<sup>5</sup> The only reason for supposing that Aeschines had made his debut as a public speaker before this date is the unlikelihood that Eubulus would have trusted him to present an important case to the assembly, or could have secured his appointment on an important embassy, without his having already achieved some sort of distinction. But it may be said that Eubulus knew his man, and that the impression which Aeschines made with



there was no peace-party at Athens. Eubulus was frightened out of his lethargy, and, to avoid an irretrievable fall, accommodated himself to the changed tone of public opinion, putting forward his protégé, Aeschines, as his mouth-piece. The latter then uttered a speech before the assembly, full of the most fiery indignation against Philip, and of the glorious past of Athens. Demosthenes may well have felt indignation on seeing him come forward and try to steal away his role, talking as if Philip's encroachments were a discovery of his own.<sup>1</sup> The speech was a preamble to a proposal not to take the field with all the male population, but to send ambassadors all over the Hellenic world to secure a general combination against Philip. Aeschines himself undertook the mission to Arcadia.<sup>2</sup> But the Ten Thousand of Megalopolis, who a few years before had been snubbed by the Athenians, against the advice of Demosthenes,<sup>3</sup> in their request for help against the encroachments of Sparta, lent a deaf ear to his arguments. His was not that noble nature which pursues a high calling once assumed, in the teeth of difficulties. His ardor soon cooled, and he entered with a will into the peace negotiations with Philip, which in 346 B.C., by a sudden revulsion of feeling, absorbed the interest of the Athenians. The unfavorable answers which were returned to their appeals took away all thoughts of war from that degenerate generation, and a tide arose setting toward peace, which swept Aeschines and his surroundings, and even Demosthenes along with it. That Demosthenes<sup>4</sup> should make Aeschines' sudden change a proof that he was bought by Philip,<sup>5</sup> tends somewhat to discredit the other phases of the same charge so frequent in Demosthenes. Least of all did it behoove Demosthenes to make such a charge, who had undergone precisely the same change at the same time.

his maiden speech was so favorable that he was naturally chosen as an ambassador. The fact that Demosthenes mentions no earlier appearance is more weighty than any such *a priori* considerations.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. XIX. 10, 302 ff., 311.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from II. 79 that he in-

cluded other Peloponnesian cities in the sphere of his operations.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dem. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. XIX. 9, 300 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Aeschines makes in II. 164 a perfectly valid defence against this charge by referring to the altered relations in which Athens had found

11. The year 346 B.C. was the great year of Aeschines' political life. Now he emerges into real importance, and becomes a principal actor in one of the most mournful chapters of Athenian history. By his actions in connection with the negotiations of the Peace of Philocrates he stands or falls. Unfortunately the two rival orators, who from this time forth are inseparably joined, for a brief period in friendship, and then in deadly combat, have done their best in two pairs of orations<sup>1</sup> to befog our judgment as to their own and each other's motives and even actions in connection with these negotiations. It is to be regretted that these orations are our sole authority for this period. Had we a Thucydides for it, or had fortune granted us the survival even of the work of Theopompus, in place of the superficial work of Diodorus Siculus, we might have had clear light where we now grope in darkness.<sup>2</sup>

This peace was not only a turning-point in Athenian history, but also a natural climax to the events of the preceding thirteen years.

12. When Philip ascended the throne of Macedon, in 359 B.C., Athens was a state whose race was run. Some, like Demosthenes, refused to believe it, but that did not alter the fact. The Peloponnesian War had not entirely crushed the life out of her. Witness the successful resistance to Sparta in the following century and the Second Athenian confederacy.<sup>3</sup> But a degeneration of Athenian life had come about. The death of Pericles marks an epoch. Had another Pericles immediately succeeded him 'to warn, to comfort, and command,' it is doubtful whether even he could have checked the evil. But more than three-quarters of a century elapsed before another master-spirit appeared, and when he came it was too late. Spasmodic activity Demosthenes did produce, and he began to hope that he had called the old glorious Athens again to life. But what galvanism can call back the dead?

herself to various states in quick succession.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II.; III. Dem. XIX.; XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, XI. c. 89) and Schäfer (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit* II. pp. 165-305) have been at great

pains to reconstruct this period of Greek history, and deserve the thanks and constant attention of the student who would arrive at satisfactory judgments concerning it.

<sup>3</sup> See on § 243. 8.

The citizens no longer regarded it as a part of their duty to serve as soldiers in the hour of need. They had found a more excellent way, and mercenaries poorly paid<sup>1</sup> by the state, or not paid at all, did the fighting, while the citizens devoted themselves to the festivals<sup>2</sup> and law-suits. The system of trierarchies<sup>3</sup> was bad enough when patriotism still held sway. A generous and wealthy man was not always the best commander of a ship of war. But when it came to be a main object of a citizen's ambition to thrust the furnishing of a ship upon another citizen,<sup>4</sup> even the navy, which had been Athens' pride and glory, was affected with dry rot.

13. Philip was a strong king of a vigorous people. His first year of sovereignty was not all spent in the arduous task of making his throne secure. He also pushed back the barbarians pressing him on the north, and endeavored to secure a sea-coast. In this last undertaking he came in collision with Athens. Amphipolis was the point of contact. The war terminated by the Peace of Philocrates was called by the Athenians the War for Amphipolis,<sup>5</sup> its object being to take vengeance on Philip for seizing that ancient possession of Athens by treachery, 357 B.C. The war begun with this high aim dropped to the ludicrously low plane of an inadequately conducted defensive one,<sup>6</sup> not wholly by Athens' fault, unless under that term we include an evil inheritance. Coincident with the beginning of that war, possibly as a result of Philip's manipulation, the Second Athenian confederacy fell apart like a rope of sand, and, by an attempt to coerce the malcontents in the Social War, Athens was brought, in less than two years, to the verge of ruin.<sup>7</sup>

14. The whole Hellenic world now saw the weakness and incapacity of Athens. It was patent to all that the vigor, wealth, patriotism, and altruism which had once warranted her pretensions to Hellenic hegemony were gone. But were her own eyes opened? It is a very difficult thing for a people with a great past,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. iv. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. iv. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Böckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, Book IV., cc. xii. ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dem. iv. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 54. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ii. 70 ff.; Dem. iv. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Isocr. viii. 9 et passim.



when brought down by its own fault or by others' power, to adapt itself to the altered condition of things, and fix upon a consistent line of policy. Witness the case of France. Generally such peoples vacillate between the desire for war and the desire for peace; between resignation or despair and a boastful and fantastic struggle for glory and power. So was it with Athens.<sup>1</sup>

The war was prosecuted with vigorous decrees and ridiculously inadequate armaments.<sup>2</sup> Even in the seventh year Demosthenes hesitates to propose the modest beginning of a standing army of 2200 men, of whom 550 shall be Athenian citizens.<sup>3</sup>

15. A war conducted in this way against such an antagonist forced Athens at last to face the question whether peace at any price was not her true policy. Barring obligation to allies, this policy did not seem to admit of question, unless a radical change in Athenian life might be looked for. But to what allies had she proved faithful? Olynthus had just had a sad experience of her lax support. But she had not yet descended to the lowest round on the ladder of shame. To one alliance she had remained faithful, the one made with the leaders of the Phocian mercenaries, the spoilers of the temple of Delphi, the antagonists of the Thebans in the Sacred War. Aeschines<sup>4</sup> and even Demosthenes<sup>5</sup> regarded these as allies of somewhat unsavory reputation, Demosthenes indicating that this was the general feeling at Athens. Yet when Philip, in 352 B.C., practically annihilated the Phocian army in Thessaly, and advanced on Thermopylae, the Athenians sent out a force and checked him. His waiting may have been partly due to other causes, but the Athenian orators, with whom this is a stock subject of boasting, ascribe it all to Athenian valor.<sup>6</sup>

The gravest question in the peace negotiations was whether the Athenians would now leave these allies also in the lurch. Here Aeschines played his first great political role.

<sup>1</sup> For this characterization applied to Athens at a still earlier date, cf. Andoc. III. 35, ὑμεῖς περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐτοίμων ὑμῖν ὑπονοεῖν εἰλόθατε καὶ δυσχεραίνειν, τὰ δ' οὐκ ὄντα λογοποιεῖν ὡς ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτοιμα· κἂν μὲν πολεμεῖν δέη, τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖτε, ἐὰν δέ τις ὑμῖν τὴν

εἰρήνην πράττη, λογίσεσθε τὸν πόλεμον ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ὑμῖν κατειργάσατο.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. IV. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 118.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dem. XVIII. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dem. IV. 17; XVIII. 32.

16. We have seen how suddenly and strongly the current set towards peace, when the other Greeks failed to respond with alacrity to Athens' invitation. After some attempts to save dignity, Athens yielded to obvious necessity, and sent ten ambassadors to Philip to sue for peace. Philocrates, the mover of the measure, Demosthenes, and Aeschines, were of the number. Aeschines was not so prominent as the other two in the preliminaries to the embassy, but there is no doubt that they all acted with substantial unanimity to its very end, when they were crowned on the motion of Demosthenes, who happened to be a member of the Senate.<sup>1</sup> Some silly hopes that Athenian diplomacy would secure from the rude barbarian what could not be won by arms were rudely dashed to the ground. Philip roundly declared, with an eloquence born largely from the consciousness of being master of the situation,<sup>2</sup> that he would make peace only on the basis of present possession. He was condescending enough to devote special attention to Aeschines' ridiculous attempt *in extenso* to argue him out of Amphipolis. Vanity was Aeschines' weak point. Philip probably saw this, and was quick to win him with flattery. We may be sure that no money was required to make Aeschines from this time forth behold the salvation of Athens in the closest union with Philip. The latter, however, left no doubt in the minds of the ambassadors about his intention not to give up Amphipolis.<sup>3</sup> He would hear nothing of the Athenians making an ally of Cersobleptes, simply to save him from the conquest which he had projected, and was on the point of carrying out. It is not at all likely that he entertained any suggestion of tying his own hands in regard to his old enemies, the Phocians. He arranged to send well-instructed plenipotentiaries to Athens to make the definite stipulations, agreeing in the mean time to refrain from attacking the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese on his Thracian expedition. This was the only substantial concession gained. Besides this, Philip was profuse in professions of good

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II. 45 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dem. vi. 17. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 14, κακέϊνος (i.e. Demos-

thenes) ἤκων 'Αθήναζε τιμὰς προσήγει καὶ στεφάνους ἀπολαλῦας 'Αθηναίοις 'Αμφιπόλεως.

will to Athens, which, whether the ambassadors believed them or not, sounded very charming, when reported at Athens, and furnished a pretext for the silly representation to the sovereign Demus that it was Philip rather than Athens who desired peace.<sup>1</sup>

17. In due time Philip's plenipotentiaries arrived, and on two eventful days, the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion, the latter being the day of final decision, the terms of peace were agreed upon before the assembly.<sup>2</sup> The problem for the Athenian leaders, now practically unanimous except a few irreconcilables, of whom Hegesippus appears to have been the leader,<sup>3</sup> was how to persuade the people, with their exalted notions of the superiority of Athens, to accept terms which were practically those dictated by a conqueror. Antipater, the head of the Macedonian embassy,<sup>4</sup> appeared in the assembly, and spoke in no doubtful terms.<sup>5</sup>

The bitter pill had to be covered with a sugar coating. Amphipolis was not mentioned in the terms which were drawn up by Philocrates and laid before the people. Its surrender was hidden under the glittering generality, 'Each party shall keep what it has.'<sup>6</sup> It was also stipulated that the treaty should include the allies of Athens, but no list of such allies was given.<sup>7</sup> A clause expressly *excluding* Phocis in the instrument as drawn by Philocrates excited so much opposition that it was expunged,<sup>8</sup> but no doubt of the Macedonian understanding on that point ought to have been left in the mind of any intelligent Athenian. But the Macedonian ambassadors were there with their terms. It was now or never. There was no time to wait for an ambassador from Cersobleptes to take part in the oath, nor to wait for the final answers of the dilatory Greeks who had been invited to a grand campaign against Philip.

Least of all was it the time to make great sacrifices for the Phocian mercenaries. Their leader, Phalaecus, had just sent home with a rebuff the Athenian general Proxenus, who had been

<sup>1</sup> For this fiction still kept up three years later, cf. Dem. xix. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 69 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Schäfer, *Demosth. und seine Zeit*, II. p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 72.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 321 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. [Dem.] vii. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 159, 278.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 159.



despatched to co-operate with him,<sup>1</sup> a circumstance which gave rise to a not unreasonable suspicion that he had come to an understanding with Philip. Aeschines was doubtless willing to support Philocrates in expressly excluding the Phocians.

A rather ridiculously wide-reaching proposal (said to have originated with the delegates of the Athenian Confederacy), that it should be allowed any Greek state whatever to enter upon the privileges of this peace by subscribing to it within three months, appears not to have been much talked of after the first day, when the temper of the Macedonian envoys became understood.<sup>2</sup> Aeschines is rather proud of having checked on that day a good deal of spread-eagle talk that began to prevail about Salamis and the graves of ancestors. His speech on that occasion, reproduced in summary in II. 75-77 (*cf.* Dem. XIX. 15) does him credit as a sensible man thoroughly convinced of the weakness of Athens.

18. Demosthenes appears to have thought it best to concur in the terms,<sup>3</sup> with a great hope, however, in spite of former failures, of still getting the better of Philip, in further negotiations, in regard to both the Phocians and Cersobleptes. When he joined his former comrades in a second embassy to Philip, he alone thought of not allowing Philip to ratify the peace in the Macedonian sense.<sup>4</sup> Meeting naturally with a bitter disappointment in this matter, he fell out with his fellow-ambassadors, who were cold towards his scheme. Here began the feud with Aeschines which was ended by the famous suit for the Crown.

After a long delay, which Demosthenes calls criminal, in reaching Philip, the ambassadors administered the oath to him at Pella,<sup>5</sup> his capital, with the express understanding that the Phocians and Cersobleptes were not included in the peace. In order to keep things in an unsettled state, apparently, the Thessalians were kept by Philip from taking their oath as his allies, until he, at the head of his forces,

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* II. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* §§ 69-73.

<sup>3</sup> This does not necessitate accepting the representation of Aeschines, §§ 71 ff.; II. 84, which makes Demosthenes responsible for all the haste.

<sup>4</sup> The Athenians ratified the peace five days after the terms were agreed upon. The object of the second embassy was to secure Philip's oath of ratification.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* Dem. XVIII. 32.

was well on his way to Thermopylae.<sup>1</sup> The rage of Demosthenes at this delay and this yielding everything to Philip knew no bounds.<sup>2</sup> There is, to be sure, no sign that Demosthenes had any device for tying Philip's hands, even if the ambassadors had reached him in the midst of his Thracian campaign, in case Philip refused to let them be tied. They appear not to have been empowered in that case to break off the negotiations, though the language in Dem. xviii. 30 is so framed as to convey that impression.<sup>3</sup> Of course Demosthenes' uncorroborated statements in xviii. establish nothing. Even ten years earlier, he had the effrontery to say that when Philip took these Thracian towns he had already sworn to the peace.<sup>4</sup>

19. So far then Aeschines appears to have done about all that one could expect from him. There is something absurd on the face of the supposition that, of ten representative Athenians, nine were bought by a foreign king without difficulty. But just here begins Aeschines' separate and important role. We do not know just what Philip said to him about the Phocians; but it is clear that Aeschines undertook to lull the Athenian conscience on that point. This charge forms the gravamen of Dem. xix., is referred to in all Demosthenes' orations of that period, and is expressed in the most pointed form in xviii. 33, 35. Aeschines gave out that he had an inside view of Philip's real intentions, which were favorable to the Phocians. If Athens offered no obstacle to his passing Thermopylae, he would throw off the mask, and break with his burdensome allies the Thebans,<sup>5</sup> and in the end do some great thing for Athens, of which it was better not to talk now. Aeschines appears to have felt that he could do Athens no greater

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes asserts that, seeing Aeschines and all the other ambassadors practising treason, he tried to return separately and immediately to Athens (xix. 51, 323), and was hindered by Philip. But the story hardly compels belief; if it were true, it would show that Philip despised either Athens or Demosthenes.

<sup>3</sup> xviii. 26, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ἄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα

ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔχειν, conveys a juster idea of the temper of the Athenians in regard to Philip's conquests in Thrace as a ground for breaking off the negotiations.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dem. ix. 15, εἰρήνην γὰρ ὁμοῦ μοῖται.

<sup>5</sup> See II. 136. Aeschines, without admitting his share in creating such an expectation, asserts that it was widespread at Athens.



service than to induce Philip to humble Thebes.<sup>1</sup> He perhaps thought that he had labored with him successfully on that point. To be sure, he appeals to the talk of Philip's courtiers rather than of Philip himself.<sup>2</sup> The situation, however, soon became so clear that Aeschines' explanations ceased. Philip in those days proceeded rapidly. In seven days after the ambassadors had made their report in Athens, he was already within Thermopylae and master of the situation. The mercenaries had capitulated with the honors of war. Destruction soon fell on the Phocian *people*, who had had little share in the plunder of Delphi and in the Sacred War. Their cities were ruthlessly destroyed, and terrible suffering ensued.<sup>3</sup> Philip had invited the Athenians, as his sworn allies, to send a contingent to co-operate with him in settling the Phocian affair; but now, either too late or too early, they took fright, and gave ear to the anti-Macedonian party headed by Hegesippus, with whom Demosthenes was now in full sympathy. They refused the co-operation on the ground that Philip intended to hold the Athenian contingent as hostages. This exhibition of distrust<sup>4</sup> practically annulled the peace of about ten days' standing, which had expressly included an alliance. Athens was truly unfortunate: having found Philip an enemy with whom she could not cope, she was now led to treat him as an ally whom she could not trust.

20. Aeschines' obtuseness to nice points of political morality is shown by the fact that he nowhere in his published speeches, in going over these events, expresses burning indignation against Philip for having deceived him.<sup>5</sup> He chooses rather to throw the blame on those who broke the good understanding with Philip, and forced him to throw himself into the arms of the Thebans after all.<sup>6</sup> Nay, he even has the hardihood to excuse himself for participation in the jubilee which Philip held at Delphi over the ruin of Phocis, on the ground that Athens was still unharmed.<sup>7</sup> If every other Athenian could justify such participation, Aeschines could not. His conduct becomes explicable, although not defensible,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 137.

<sup>3</sup> See App. on § 80.

<sup>4</sup> See on § 80. 6.

<sup>5</sup> See on § 80. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II. 137 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. II. 163.



when we consider that his contempt for the Phocians was exceeded only by his hatred for Thebes.

But the sensibilities of the Athenians, quickened by a feeling of danger which showed itself in the *σκευαγωγία*, were not so dull as those of Aeschines. Bitter reproaches fell on him and his fellow-ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, the one man who had protested against their conduct, rose to power at a single bound. Philip was too absolutely master of the situation for any open hostility. But Demosthenes never lost sight of the goal at which he had aimed from the beginning. The peace, even if it had been made according to his highest hopes, would have been to him but an armistice to gain time and gather strength by new combinations for the final struggle.

21. The first measure of the newly established majority was to drive its opponents from public life. Philocrates succumbed to an indictment by Hyperides and went into voluntary exile. The evidences of his *δωροδοκία* were too palpable to allow any doubt of the issue of a trial. Aeschines, however, fought a good fight in his own defence. Indicted almost immediately after the peace by Timarchus, a tool of Demosthenes, he demolished him by a counter-attack on the score of a disreputable life. The speech spoken by Aeschines on that trial, though wallowing in filth, followed lines dictated by the nature of the case, and was well calculated to win the verdict. After Philocrates had been successfully attacked, Demosthenes brought in 343 B.C. his suit against Aeschines for malversation on the second embassy. Aeschines met this attack like a man, and secured his acquittal by a narrow margin,<sup>2</sup> through his most excellent defence and by the intercession of Eubulus and Phocion. Considering that the peace-party was at this time in a decided minority, this acquittal has great significance.<sup>3</sup> An average body of 500 or 1000 Athenians refused to be convinced of the treachery or venality of a man against whom public feeling ran high.

<sup>1</sup> See on § 80. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Plut. *Dem.* 15, thirty votes.

<sup>3</sup> It is strange that neither orator refers explicitly, and Demosthenes

by way of allusion only, in the orations on the Crown, to this earlier suit. This silence early led to the suspicion that the case never came to trial.

22. How Demosthenes led Athens by careful steps to face again the war with Philip in 340 B.C. is one of the most interesting stories in Greek history, but we are concerned with Aeschines. Though he had secured his acquittal, he appears to have thought it folly to attempt any political role against Demosthenes. He subsided,<sup>1</sup> but not into absolute silence, for he attacked Demosthenes' trierarchic law when the latter was at the height of his power.<sup>2</sup>

At length he emerged into prominence as a delegate to the spring-meeting of the Amphictyons at Delphi, 339 B.C. How he came to be elected, when Demosthenes was so influential, is a riddle. In 343 B.C., just before his trial, he had been appointed a special commissioner to the same gathering to plead the cause of Athens in the suit between Athens and Delos for the jurisdiction over the sanctuary at Delos. But here the patriotic party rose and secured a vote of the Council of Areopagus rejecting him and substituting Hyperides.<sup>3</sup> Aeschines may have been looked upon as a sort of authority in Amphictyonic procedure. But Demosthenes would not be likely to trust him any more in 339 than in 343. The fact that Midias also, the old enemy of Demosthenes, was a delegate looks more like a temporary reverse for the latter than anything else.<sup>4</sup>

Once more Aeschines essayed a role of the first magnitude. His own story of the affair, §§ 106-136, is the finest part of the present oration. It is a narrative explicit and full, but it marches, and carries the reader along. The motives and consequences of his action are there so well described that only a brief notice of the affair need be given here. The war with Philip, begun the year before, had opened gloriously for Athens. Her troops, led by Phocion, but sent out on Demosthenes' motion, came to the rescue of Byzantium, which was besieged by Philip, and forced him to

*Cf. Plut. l.c.* But the mutual silence may be explained by the fact that Demosthenes suffered a defeat, and Aeschines barely escaped conviction.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. § 226 fin.*

<sup>2</sup> See on § 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Dem. xviii. 134.*

<sup>4</sup> This explanation, which is suggested by *Dem. xviii. 308*, is certainly more plausible than the explanation *ibid. 149*, that there were only three or four persons concerned in Aeschines' election.

raise the siege. His attention was then immediately demanded by a campaign against the Scythians, which drew him as far north as the mouth of the Danube. During this absence occurred the disturbance at Delphi which brought him into Greece, and introduced the closing act in Athenian history. The delegates of Amphissa, acting in the interest of Thebes, charged Athens with impiety. Aeschines made a counter-attack on Amphissa, which swept the council. After some immediate but inadequate measures, a special meeting was voted to consider the definitive punishment of Amphissa. Athens and Thebes refrained from sending delegates, and so drifted into a war against the rest of the Amphictyons, among whom Philip, after acquiring Phocis' place in 346 B.C., was the most important.

Demosthenes' charge is simple, as in the case of the embassy, viz., Philip hired Aeschines to create a disturbance at this meeting.<sup>1</sup> But bribery, or even collusion with Philip, is far less likely here than in the former case. Philip was far away, and could not have known long beforehand that Aeschines was to be a delegate. Indeed the election may well have surprised Aeschines himself. Furthermore, Philip can hardly have desired a disturbance in the Amphictyonic league, which was already subservient to him. Possibly Thebes did not wholly enjoy his overshadowing proximity, but as yet there was no note of discord between him and his old friends. It was simply a question of time when he would adjust his other difficulties and appear, with the united Amphictyons at his back, on the borders of Attica. One might suppose him willing rather to pay something *not* to have a disturbance raised. Indeed it is not at all incredible that he subsidized the Amphissians to bring the charge against Athens, that he might have a pretext for leading his Amphictyonic hosts against her. It is possible that Aeschines unknowingly cut into a train of circumstances quietly laid by Philip. With the attack on Amphissa Thebes' course was in a measure pointed out for her; from that moment it was likely, in case Philip stood by the decree of the Amphictyons, that Thebes and Athens would ultimately be driven

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. XVIII. 149, *μισθοῦται τουτοῦ*.



to act together. When they both refused to send delegates to the special meeting, it was almost a certainty. Well may Thebes, indeed, have hesitated to break finally with the mighty conqueror, and cast in her lot with Athens; well may it have required all the eloquence of Demosthenes to seal the bond. But it was the act of Aeschines, though he had no thought of bringing about an alliance with the hated neighbor, that pushed her forward. Aeschines is right in one thing: the logic of the situation was more cogent than the logic of Demosthenes.<sup>1</sup> But neither does he lay claim to credit, nor does Demosthenes think of giving him credit, for creating the situation. Demosthenes, intent on getting in a blow at Aeschines, lacks the judicial temper to say what he may well have known, even if Aeschines' more obtuse mind failed to recognize it: 'That act of yours at Delphi, with no good intent on your part, was a real godsend to Athens; it threw Thebes into our arms, and made it possible for us to wage an equal contest with Philip at Chaeronea.' Unfortunately the usual charge of bribery is more to Demosthenes' taste.

#### THE SUIT FOR THE CROWN.

23. The battle of Chaeronea was sufficiently decisive. Philip, who for some time had had a Persian campaign in mind, now turned his attention to it in earnest. But it was a *sine qua non* of this expedition that Athens should be either crushed or conciliated. Philip chose the latter course, and made peace with her on very easy terms. When he had withdrawn from Greece, the Athenians began to think of a thorough repair of their walls. Demosthenes, who still retained their confidence, introduced a bill in June, 337, proposing that this work be apportioned among the ten tribes, under the management of ten tribal commissioners (*ταχτοποιοί*). Three or four days afterwards the commissioners were appointed, and Demosthenes was chosen by his own tribe Pandionis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 27, 31.

In order to do his part well, he gave, it was claimed, from his own money 100 minae,<sup>1</sup> more than \$1500 (really equivalent to a gift of \$10,000 or \$15,000 to-day).<sup>2</sup>

Ctesiphon, one of Demosthenes' party-associates, a man of little note, seizing upon this circumstance, brought a bill in the spring of 336, shortly before the close of Demosthenes' term of office, to confer upon him for his continued services to the state a golden crown, to be proclaimed in the theatre at the approaching Great Dionysia.<sup>3</sup> The proposal passed the Senate without difficulty, and would probably have passed the Assembly with equal ease, had not Aeschines raised an objection, accompanied by a declaration (*ὑπομυσία*) of his intention to bring before the proper court an indictment against the mover of the bill, which he declared illegal on three grounds:—

1. Demosthenes was not worthy of the distinction.
2. His account had not yet been submitted for examination.
3. The law forbade that a crown conferred by the people should be proclaimed in the theatre.<sup>4</sup>

The punishment proposed was a fine, the amount of which we do not know. This was a matter of no interest to those who described the trial. Demosthenes and not Ctesiphon was felt by all to be the real defendant.<sup>5</sup>

The motives which prompted Aeschines were probably more than a mere desire to prevent his old enemy from receiving an honor. The crown was probably proposed as a political demonstration. It might be construed as a blow, almost a conditional declaration of war, against Philip. Its effect, if not its intent, would be to make him hesitate about his Persian campaign. It

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 17.

<sup>2</sup> It has been inferred from Dem. XVIII. 113 that he gave another gift to the city in this same year, as manager of the Theoric Fund, but this is quite doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> This explains Ctesiphon's haste. No such opportunity would occur for another year, and by that time the feeling of gratitude for the donation would have lost its warmth.

<sup>4</sup> On the trial Aeschines appears to

have allowed the counts to stand in this order, while, in his plea, he reserved 1. for the last place. This neglect allowed Demosthenes to say (XVIII. 56) *τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦτω ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ*, in the face of the elaborate attempt (§§ 206 ff.) to make him follow the order of the plaintiff. The compiler of the document, Dem. XVIII. 54 f., was following, probably, a correct tradition.

<sup>5</sup> See on § 210.

was, then, as a partisan of Philip that Aeschines interposed. The illegality of the proposal probably interested him very little, and his posing throughout the oration as a champion of the constitution has something hollow and unattractive about it. The fact that Ctesiphon is only the nominal defendant gives an unfortunate aspect of indirectness to the case.

Aeschines must have known that his chances for victory were not good. He knew the favor in which Demosthenes stood, unshaken by Chaeronea; he knew also Demosthenes' superior power as an orator, and that he could make an attack on himself seem like an attack on the Athenian people; he ought to have known the Athenian people well enough to be sure that they would never, by condemning Demosthenes, declare that he had led them in blind submission over a way of his own. Perhaps he did not even hope for a victory. His oration at any rate does not bear on its face the assurance of victory which beams from every part of Demosthenes' oration. But for the present he gained his point by the *ἐπιμυσία*. This must necessarily delay the crowning until the case had been brought into court and settled, probably until after the Great Dionysia, and then perhaps the friends of Demosthenes would not think it worth while to press their proposal, at least not for another year.

24. The case was not brought to trial for more than six years. Why was this, and who brought it up after this long postponement? Neither orator has a word to say on either of these points. If either could have blamed the other for this delay, with any effect, he would have been sure to do so. Aeschines had no reason to push the trial; as the game stood he had won his point; if he forced the issue, he might well expect a reversal of the situation. Demosthenes perhaps did not care for the demonstration in his favor after the death of Philip, which followed close upon the preliminaries of the case.<sup>1</sup> After that, came great hopes soon blasted, spasmodic labors, care upon care, which hardly allowed him to think of the case. The gigantic strides of Alexander across Asia made all that was done in Greece seem petty. How petty then a suit for a crown!

<sup>1</sup> In August, 336. See on § 219. 4.

In 330 Aeschines had less reason than ever for opening the case. Victory was, if anything, less likely than in 336. Even the unfortunate issue of Agis' revolution<sup>1</sup> did not shake Demosthenes' hold on popular favor.<sup>2</sup> But the occasion for the trial must be sought some months back of its actual occurrence in August, 330.<sup>3</sup> Such proceedings at Athens always took time. A few months earlier the situation was big with hopes for the party of Greek independence. Alexander was almost beyond the limits of the habitable world:<sup>4</sup> in spite of his great conquests, he might come to grief like the great Cyrus.

The revolution of Agis then looked formidable: Spartans in the field were expected to do something. Athens, to be sure, took no part in this affair,<sup>5</sup> but was filled with the liveliest sympathy. Demosthenes was in close correspondence with the rebel leaders, but Chaeronea had made him cautious, in this case too cautious, if the revolution was to swell like a rising tide. His sympathies, however, were well enough known. Antipater, indeed, shortly afterwards demanded his presence for trial at the approaching Pythia, as a disturber of the peace.<sup>6</sup> The reopening of the case by the friends of Demosthenes at this time was a perfectly motivated political demonstration: it would show the Spartans the drift of public opinion at Athens, and give them at least something to hope for.

As a *προβούλευμα* was null after the year of its passage,<sup>7</sup> the first step in reopening the case was probably a renewal of Ctesiphon's motion before the *βουλή*. A very natural time for this would be at the beginning of the official year in Hecatombaeon, nearly two months before the date of the trial. Both speeches assume that the crowning will take place if Ctesiphon is acquitted.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See on § 133. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 161 *fin.*

<sup>3</sup> See on § 132. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 165.

<sup>5</sup> The prosecution of Leocrates by Lycurgus, which precedes the trial of Ctesiphon by only a month or two (cf. § 252), shows that the patriots at Athens were hopeful and active.

<sup>6</sup> See on § 161. 7.

<sup>7</sup> See Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 375.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. §§ 153 ff., 259; Dem. xviii. 85, 266. Blass (*Att. Beredsamkeit*, III. 1. p. 305) thinks there was no renewal of the motion, but that it was well understood that it would be renewed if the way to it was cleared by an ac-



This renewal was a challenge to Aeschines which he would have to accept, or suffer a penalty as great as that for the failure to secure one-fifth of the votes of the jury.<sup>1</sup> One thing was changed in his favor in the few weeks preceding the trial: Macedonian arms had again become supreme in Greece. The Athenians had, indeed, already refused to allow Demosthenes to obey Antipater's summons to Delphi; but would they now dare to add to that answer the crowning? The situation appealed to their fears, but the caution with which Aeschines uses this motive<sup>2</sup> testifies that they had not become altogether abject.

25. The trial excited more interest than any other ever conducted in an Athenian court. The court room was thronged with citizens and strangers.<sup>3</sup> The two greatest living orators were entering on a battle long ago announced. For Aeschines it was a last proud moment before he sank forever. A party-leader he had never been, though his vanity had several times led him to essay a controlling part. The mantle of Eubulus descended not to him, but to Demades and Phocion. After Chaeronea he had dropped to his natural level of a *τριταγωνιστής* in politics. But now for one day with his one great gift of eloquence he was to divide attention with Demosthenes, and no one could tell in advance whom evening would call victor. In the only case in which they had already met, Aeschines had won.

26. But what of the actual course of the contest? Aeschines stood like Faust before the *Erdgeist* which he had conjured up. He needed not to wait for the verdict: he was annihilated, if oratory could do it, before Demosthenes had uttered half of his great defence. If he never realized it before, he surely did then, that Demosthenes was a giant and he a dwarf.<sup>4</sup> Demosthenes

quittal (so also Grote). Blass leaves it in doubt which party pushed the case in 330. Grote and most of the English authorities think it was Aeschines. Their error consists in ignoring the fact that the impulse for reopening the case must have come some time before the actual trial. Schäfer (*Dem. und seine Zeit*, III. p. 207), followed

by Jebb (*Att. Orators*, II. p. 400), takes the view indicated in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. [Dem.] LVIII. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 211, 254.

<sup>3</sup> See on § 56. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The remark ascribed to Aeschines in *Vit. Dec. Oratt.* 840 d, 'You would cease to wonder at the result if you had heard Demosthenes' speech,' is



carried the case up, and carried the jury along with him, into a region of thought where Aeschines was not at home. The man who could make Chaeronea as glorious as Marathon was clearly master. But Aeschines made a bad case worse by an error of character. A pro-Macedonian policy, it must be confessed, was not one adapted to stir the hearts of an Athenian jury; but Aeschines would have made a better impression had he planted himself squarely on that issue, as Phocion in his place would have done. When he tries to make out that Demosthenes is guilty of favoring the Macedonian interests, the hollowness of his talk is here again, as when he poses as the champion of the laws, unfortunately conspicuous.<sup>1</sup> We may well believe that the jury, which gave the verdict under the spell of Demosthenes' great oration, was not divided on party lines. The less than one-fifth of the votes<sup>2</sup> — how much less we are not told — that Aeschines received could hardly represent the strength of the Macedonian party at Athens at that time.

27. The loss of 1000 drachmas, attendant on the loss of the suit, was slight: the loss of the right to institute a similar suit in the future<sup>3</sup> was more serious: but it was more than all the consciousness of an overwhelming defeat, of which the vote of the jury was only a feeble echo, that made Athens intolerable to Aeschines. He probably left the city before the crowning, of which we hear nothing: but what a crowning it must have been! According to tradition, he spent some of the rest of his life in Rhodes, teaching rhetoric.<sup>4</sup> Ephesus and Samos are also mentioned as his sojourning places.

properly understood to represent what he, or any one else, *ought* to have felt who had heard both orations.

<sup>1</sup> Aeschines, probably feeling sure of the Macedonian party, tried to catch also the anti-Macedonian votes. Cf. §§ 76, 89, 162 ff. On the other hand sympathy with the Macedonian cause appears in §§ 57, 66, 132 f., 157, 161, 259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 15.

<sup>3</sup> See Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 482.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. authorities cited in note on Introd. § 1. The whole story may, however, have been invented to connect the Rhodian school of oratory with Aeschines. Acc. to the *Vita Anon.*, when asked by the Rhodians to teach rhetoric, he replied that he did not know it himself. See Schäfer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*, III. p. 266, note.

## PRESENT FORM OF THE ORATION.

28. At some time during this exile Aeschines subjected the present oration to a revision for publication, which if not very thorough was still quite wide-reaching.<sup>1</sup> Fox (*Kranzrede des Demosthenes*, p. 214), indeed, maintains that we are fully justified in believing that in the two orations on the Crown, in their present form, we have not merely in the main, but in detail, the very orations prepared and committed to memory before the trial and delivered at the trial with the addition of a slight amount of extemporized matter. Very few, however, have been able to resist the impression that § 189, anticipating Demosthenes' comparison of statesmen to boxers,<sup>2</sup> and §§ 225 f., anticipating the comparison between the bad statesman and the bad physician,<sup>3</sup> are more naturally explained as insertions made after the corresponding passages of Demosthenes had been heard. A still more suggestive case is § 228. Extending the same supposition to this, it would seem that Aeschines had heard Demosthenes compare him to the Sirens. But no such comparison occurs in Demosthenes' published oration. The natural conclusion is that Demosthenes, when he published it, suppressed the illustration.<sup>4</sup> The labored refutation §§ 13-16, corresponding to nothing in Demosthenes' oration, may be a similar case. Dem. XIX. certainly lost by revision a passage, of which the reply (*cf.* II. 10) took cognizance. Schäfer (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, III, Beilage, pp. 72 ff.) has a discussion of the question of revision, maintaining that some considerable changes were made in editing, but that 'the two orations lie before us in the main as they were delivered.' He believes that however well the lines of each orator's argument might be known to the

<sup>1</sup> As the work was done in exile, he probably did not have before him the speech of Demosthenes as revised for publication, but was dependent on his recollection of what he had heard.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Dem. XVIII. 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Dem. XVIII. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Fox (p. 358) sees in this case an

evidence of the conscientiousness with which Aeschines published every word that he had uttered before the court, retaining the reference to an odious comparison to which he seemed peculiarly sensitive, even though he had made a bad hit in supposing that Demosthenes was going to use it.

other, by gossip and by the points presented at the preliminary hearing (*ἀνάκρισις*),<sup>1</sup> no anticipation of similes such as appears in §§ 189, 225, could really occur. This principle once established, one expects many other passages to be regarded as additions.<sup>2</sup> There were quite as likely to be subtractions also from the spoken oration. Thus we are driven to confront the suggestion of a wide divergence between this and the published form.

Kirchhoff, in the article in which he so daringly dissects the oration of Demosthenes,<sup>3</sup> is much more conservative in regard to changes in Aeschines' oration. Bruno Cämmerer (*De duplici recensione orationis Aeschineæ contra Ctesiphontem*) regards a large part of the oration as added in the revision.<sup>4</sup>

The revision was, after all, done without that use of the 'file' which marks Demosthenes. Many parts appear like patches of new cloth on an old garment. This is most apparent in the legal part of the oration, where sections prepared in 336 B.C. lie adjacent to others prepared in 330 B.C., with no reduction of the whole to organic unity.<sup>5</sup>

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF AESCHINES' ORATORY.

29. As an orator, Aeschines is 'a brilliant amateur.' He is a spiritual brother of Andocides, and seems to have recognized the kinship.<sup>6</sup> • As an amateur he touches topics on the surface, without feeling the necessity of searching them to the bottom. [A chain of argument with proofs at every step is something which he hardly understands. It is nearly as difficult to compare him with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> The following passages have especially fallen under the suspicion of various scholars: §§ 24-30, 35-48, 54-56, 84, 159-167, 177 ff., 197-199, 200-230.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Abhandl. der Berliner Akad.* 1875, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It may seem strange that Aeschines, in trying to parry so many of Demosthenes' thrusts by pretended anticipations, should not have touched

on the foul abuse of his mother. See *Intro.* § 2. It may be set down to his credit, and as a not unimportant testimonial of character, that he withdrew from that challenge in silence, and left Demosthenes undisputed master in foulness.

<sup>5</sup> §§ 24-30 is a good specimen case. See on that passage. § 216 is added at the time of revision with no attempt to make it conform to the point of view of 330 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> See *App.* on § 1.

Lysias, with a view to settling their relative rank, as it would be to compare him with some poet. With a great parade to cover the retreat, he has retreated from the characteristic *docere* of Attic oratory, and fallen back on the *delectare*.

Like Andocides, he tells a story well, and will never, if he can help it, abandon narrative for argument. Notable exhibitions of this talent are §§ 106 ff. and 11. The defect that is ever present with him is a lack of nobility of nature and even earnestness of purpose. He seems to have all the equipments of an orator, but 'keine Seele wärmt die Eingeweide.' Hence he has the misfortune almost always to try to appear more in earnest than he is. The pathos of the present oration is often of that character. When in 1. he poses as a censor of morals, he deceives no one but himself. At the very end, he shows that his zeal is directed at Timarchus only, and not at the other sinners of the same stripe, by making provision, with one of the blackest proposals in Greek literature, that the very vice he has been castigating may go on.

In 11. alone he is genuine, because he does not try to appear greater than he is: he is simply trying to get off from a powerful and pitiless enemy. Even those who hold that in this oration he does not refute a single point of the attack are constrained to yield it high praise, as by far the best of his so-called 'three Graces.'

It is perhaps a great misfortune for his fame that the present oration did not remain unpublished, in which case it would have been possible to suppose, in spite of the verdict of the court and tradition, that the attack was in some measure worthy of the great defence. His oration *On the Embassy* being superior, as a work of art, to Dem. xix., posterity might well have entertained exalted notions as to this his grandest effort.

Aeschines has decided merits which would make him a formidable competitor for the second place among the Attic orators, even if the adventitious circumstance of his struggle with Demosthenes had not placed him there. Demosthenes himself gives ample testimony to his capabilities; <sup>1</sup> and not altogether does Aeschines belie his report in the present oration. If carping criticism could have

Cf. Dem. xviii. 242; xix. 339 f., to which should be added Aeschines' <sup>1</sup>ts, § 228; 11. 41.

won his case, he would have been victorious. His skill in putting the worst construction on Demosthenes' acts, and making his discourse interesting, while enforcing each point with some brilliant *epiphonema*, has led Leopold Schmidt (*Ethik der Griechen*, I. p. 24) to call him 'eine diabolische Natur.'

In the legal part of the discussion, where he had the advantage of Demosthenes, he is not at home. Here he presents a fault alien to his nature: he lacks lucidity. The whole treatment is so labored that Demosthenes, with a keen eye to his own advantage, gives it the most withering answer possible: 'Neither, by the gods, do I suppose you understood his arguments, nor was I myself able to understand most of them.'<sup>2</sup>

Among features fairly characteristic of the style of Aeschines may be mentioned:—

1. Diatyposis, or vivid presentation of a picture.<sup>3</sup>
2. Apostrophe.<sup>4</sup>
3. Inclination to digression,<sup>5</sup> which justifies the verdict of Quintilian (x. i. 77): *Plenior Aeschines et magis fusus et grandiori similis quo nimis strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.*
4. Exaggeration.<sup>6</sup>
5. A fondness for the *figura etymologica*,<sup>7</sup> his most striking superficial characteristic.

In a less striking degree than Demosthenes he exhibits:—

1. The art of dramatic representation, *i.e.* the carrying on of a discussion with question and answer.<sup>8</sup>
2. The use of a pair of words to express a single notion,<sup>9</sup> mainly for the purpose of dwelling longer on the thought.

He is not altogether indifferent to hiatus, and some transpositions in the natural order of words are made with a view to avoiding it.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See on §§ 28–30 *in*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. xviii. iii.

<sup>3</sup> See on § 153 *in*.

<sup>4</sup> Striking cases are §§ 137, 152, 260. See on § 53. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 77 f., 130 f., 132–136. It is difficult to find any thread of connection in the epilogue (§§ 177–260).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 212, 25. 8.

<sup>7</sup> See on § 2. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. §§ 20–22, 178, 186.

<sup>9</sup> This feature is reduced somewhat by Weidner's pruning of the text, but may be seen in numerous passages. See on § 131. 2.

<sup>10</sup> See Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit*, 2. p. 204.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- B.C.
359. Accession of Philip.
357. Philip takes Amphipolis. War with Athens (357-346).  
Social War (357-355).
355. Sacred War (355-346).  
Treaty between Athens and the Phocian mercenaries.
354. Eubulus State Treasurer.  
Demosthenes opens his career before the assembly with the oration on the Symmories.
352. Demosthenes' oration for the Megalopolitans.  
Philip annihilates the Phocian army under Onomarchus.  
Athenians cover Thermopylae against the approach of Philip.
351. Demosthenes' First Philippic.  
Demosthenes' oration for the Rhodians.
350. Expedition of the Athenians to Euboea. Battle of Tamynae.  
Aeschines' brother Aphobetus State Treasurer, continuing the régime of Eubulus.  
Failure of Apollodorus' proposal to divert the Theoric Fund to war purposes.
349. Philip's campaign against Olynthus.  
Demosthenes' First and Second Olynthiacs.
348. Demosthenes' Third Olynthiac.  
Philip destroys Olynthus.  
Athens invites the Greeks to a general war against Philip. Aeschines goes as ambassador to Arcadia.
346. First Athenian peace-embassy to Philip, on the motion of Philocrates (February or March).  
Philip takes many places on the coast of Thrace.  
Macedonian envoys arrive at Athens (April).  
Second Athenian peace-embassy to Philip (end of April).  
Phocians under Phalaecus capitulate. Destruction of Phocian towns.  
Philip president of the Amphictyonic Council.  
Indictment of Aeschines by Timarchus for treason as an ambassador.  
Demosthenes' oration on the Peace.
345. Aeschines' oration *Against Timarchus*.  
Aeschines' brother Philochares Strategus (345-342).
344. Philip's intervention in Peloponnesus.  
Demosthenes' Second Philippic.
343. Philocrates, indicted by Hyperides, goes into exile.  
Athens' suit before the Amphictyons for jurisdiction over Delos.  
Aeschines indicted and brought to trial by Demosthenes for treason on the second peace-embassy. Orations *On the Embassy*.

342. Hegesippus' oration on Halonnesus.  
Philip's encroachments in Euboea. Callias of Chalcis forms an alliance with Athens.
341. Diopithes, the Athenian commander in the Chersonese, begins a desultory warfare with Philip.  
Demosthenes' oration on the Chersonese and Third Philippic.
340. Philip besieges Byzantium.  
Athenians declare war against Philip, on the motion of Demosthenes.  
Demosthenes, as Overseer of the Navy, introduces thorough reforms.
339. Aeschines appointed Pylagoras (March).  
Philip chosen leader of an Amphictyonic campaign against Amphissa (Sept.).  
Theoric Fund devoted to war-purposes by the influence of Demosthenes.  
Philip occupies Elatea.  
Demosthenes' embassy to Thebes results in an alliance between Athens and Thebes.
338. Lycurgus State Treasurer.  
Battle of Chaeronea (Sept.).  
Thebes receives a Macedonian garrison. Peace of Demades secures terms favorable to Athens.  
Philip's Congress of Corinth and declaration of the programme of war against Persia.
337. Demosthenes' proposal to repair the walls (June).  
Demosthenes chosen one of the commissioners for that work, also Overseer of the Theoric Fund.
333. Ctesiphon's bill to crown Demosthenes stopped by Aeschines' *inimicitia*.  
Assassination of Philip.
335. Alexander destroys Thebes.
334. Alexander opens his Asiatic campaign.
331. Battle of Arbela.
330. Agis revolts.  
Suit of Lycurgus against Leocrates.  
Battle of Megalopolis, in which Antipater defeats Agis, and suppresses the Spartan revolt.  
Orations *On the Crown* (Aug.).

## ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

St. p. 63.

1 Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν

*Exordium.* §§ 1-8. The central thought is ἂν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σφίζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία (§ 6). The particular point pressed is ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί (§ 5). "All the bulwarks of the democracy are swept away except the παρανόμων γραφή. Sustain me lest that also be lost."

a) *Personal, of his antagonist and himself.* § 1. The object is reddere auditores benevolos.

§ 1. 1. παρασκευὴν καὶ παράταξιν: prolepsis for emphasis. A military metaphor, *levy and muster*. Without παράταξιν the metaphor would not be felt, on account of the orators' constant use of παρασκευή in the sense of intrigue, or careful preparations of a cabal. Cf. §§ 3, 62. 1. 193, καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς συνηγόρους αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖτε. *Lycurg.* 20, οὐ γὰρ ἄγνοεῖτε οὐτε τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρινόμενων οὐτε τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἐξαιτουμένων. *Dem. xix. 1* raises against Aeschines the same charge of attempting to influence the jury by an array of partisanship, ὅση μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι σπουδὴ περὶ τούτων τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ παραγγελία γέγονε, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἥσθησθαι, ἑωρακότας ἔρι τοὺς θ' ἐκκληροῦσθε ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ προσιόντας ὑμῖν. The Schol., comparing this exordium with that of *Dem. xix.*, censures παράταξιν

as too tragic; yet this exordium conforms better to the rule of simplicity than does that of Demosthenes' reply. This opening sent. was prob. suggested by *Andoc. i. 1*, τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν. See App. Similar is *Lys. xix. 2*.—ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι: the 6000 jurymen, drawn by lot each year from all citizens over 30 years old, were divided for service into divisions of 500. In an important case like this, prob. at least two divisions would sit together. Owing to the size of the jury, the form of address appropriate to the assembly is quite as common as the more strictly proper, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. See App.

2. τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν διήσεις: a particular aspect of παρασκευήν. Most of the δικαστήρια bordered on the ἀγορά, the centre of the city's life (see Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 476), and it was there, naturally, that Demosthenes' partisans pressed upon the jury. Cf. *Thuc. viii. 54*, ξυνωμοσίαι αἵπερ ἐτύγγανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οἷσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς. The military words παρασκευὴν and παράταξιν hint at such ξυνωμοσίαι. The reference is not merely to the συνηγοροί, but to the whole faction which supported Demosthenes. Cf. 1. 193 quoted above.

δεήσεις αἷς κέχρηται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ συν-  
 ήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω  
 5 πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγού-  
 μενος οὐδεμίαν ἂν παρασκευὴν μείζον ἰσχύειν παρ' ὑμῖν  
 2 τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλήν τοὺς πεντακοσίους καὶ  
 τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι,

3. *τινές*: used several times in this oration, §§ 3, 5, 7, 58, 191, to refer in a disparaging way to Demosthenes and his party. — *τὰ μέτρια καὶ συνήθη*: a single art. because the two adjs. form one conception in the speaker's mind. See on § 131. 2. Aeschines poses throughout the oration as the champion of the established institutions of the state. On the ground of such pretensions, Demosthenes takes him to task in XVIII, 292, καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ κτλ. "Demosthenes' clique has ambitions incompatible with that equality which belongs to a democracy" (cf. § 3. 10, τὰς δυναστείας αὐτοῖς περιποιούμενοι, and §§ 170, 220), "and will not hold itself subject to the limitations of the fair and ordinary course of justice." μέτριος, as in I. 162, a synonym for δίκαιος. Cf. § 9. 1, μετρίως. Thuc. iv. 81, αὐτὸν παρασχὼν δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον.

4. *ἐγὼ δέ*: emphatic contrast to τὴν μὲν παρασκευήν.

5. *νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν*: the speaker throws himself upon the jury. This opening has a greater show of confidence than that of Demosthenes' reply.

6. *ἂν . . . ἰσχύειν*: ἂν is necessary because in dir. disc. the thought is not ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶ, but ἰσχύει ἂν, i.e.

would prove stronger if tried. For the sentiment, cf. Dem. xix. 283, οὐδὲν ἐστ' ὕψελος πόλεως ἥτις μὴ νεῦρα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικαῶντας ἔχει, οὐδὲ πολιτείας, ἐν ᾗ συγγνώμη καὶ παραγγελία τῶν νόμων μείζον ἰσχύουσιν. Prob. an oratorical commonplace before the courts, for which we do not need to hold Aeschines particularly indebted to Demosthenes.

b) Concerning the violence of the opposing party, which casts off all decency and acknowledges no bounds. §§ 2-4.

§ 2. 1. *ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν*: μὲν corresponds to δέ, § 3. 1. *ἐβουλόμην* without ἂν expresses a wish strongly felt at present, but already past realization. GMT. 49, 2, n. 3 c; H. 897 b. Cf. Antipho, v. 1, ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἴσου μοι καθεστάναι τῇ τε συμφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς γεγενημένοις. If the wish is dependent on a condition, ἂν must be expressed. See, however, on § 115. 6.

2. *τοὺς πεντακοσίους*: added epexegetically to τὴν βουλήν to distinguish it from ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, § 20.

3. *τῶν ἐφεστηκότων*: during or before the archonship of Nausinicus, 378-7 B.C. (see Goodwin, *Transact. of the Am. Phil. Assn.* for 1885, pp. 165 ff.), the functions of the old tribal *πρωτά-νεις* were limited so that they had little more to do than to call the meet-



καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐνομοθέτησε Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 5 ῥητόρων εὐκοσμίας ἰσχύειν, ἵνα ἐξῇν πρῶτον μὲν τῷ  
 πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν σωφρόνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελ- 54  
 θόντι ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτι-  
 στα τῇ πόλει συμβουλευέειν, δεύτερον δ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν

ings of the senate and the assembly. The presidency in both bodies was exercised by a committee of nine senators, called πρόεδροι, whom the president of the πρυτάνεις (ὁ ἐκ τῶν πρυτάνεων κληρούμενος ἐπιστάτης) at the opening of each assembly selected by lot from the nine tribes other than his own. From these nine πρόεδροι the actual presiding officer for any given day (ὁ ἐκ τῶν προέδρων κληρούμενος ἐπιστάτης, not to be confounded with the πρυτάνεων ἐπιστάτης just mentioned) was selected by lot. The object of this complicated machinery was prob. to prevent cheating through previous collusion with the presiding officer. On the whole subject, see Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 377. *Journal of Hell. Studies*, III. p. 137.

4. οὓς ἐνομοθέτησε: like ὅν (νόμον) ἐνομοθετήσατε, § 14. The use of the *figura etymologica* of every variety is a favorite mannerism of Aeschines. (See *Intro.* § 29.) Thus we have τὴν τάξιν τάττεσθαι § 7, εὐχὰς εὐχεσθαι § 18, ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι § 21, κήρυγμα κηρύξαι §§ 23, 154, προφάσεις προφασίζεσθαι § 24, ἀρχὴν ἀρχεῖν §§ 25, 26, 27; I. 106, ἐπιβολὰς ἐπιβάλλειν § 27, καταχειροτονίαν καταχειροτονεῖν § 52, δωροδοκίαν δωροδοκεῖν § 58, δέησιν δεῖσθαι § 61; II. 43, ἐρωτήματα ἐρωτᾶν § 72; I. 130, τροπὰς τρέπεσθαι § 90, σύνταγμα συντάττειν § 95, πράξεις πράττειν § 96; I. 74, πρεσβεῖαν πρεσβεύειν §§ 97, 138; I. 120; II. 82, 139, 142, βίαν βιώναι §§ 100, 132, μαντείαν μαντεύεσθαι § 107,

ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖν § 145, παιδείαν παιδεύειν § 148, κήρυγμα προκηρύττειν § 149, γραφὰς γράφεισθαι §§ 212, 216, ἀγοράσματα ἀγοράζειν § 223, τάφρους ταφρεύειν § 236, πολιτείαν πολιτεύεσθαι § 7; I. 5, λόγον λέγειν § 13; I. 81, 93, ἐπίταγμα ἐπιτάττειν I. 3, 70, 76, 95, ἱερωσύνην ἱεράσασθαι I. 19, νίκην νικᾶν I. 64, ἐπαγγελίαν ἐπαγγεῖλαι I. 81, ἀμάρτημα ἁμαρτεῖν I. 88, ὄρκον ἐπιορκεῖν I. 115, διατριβὰς διατρίβειν I. 121, 147, 149, λοιδορίας λοιδορεῖσθαι II. 8, μάχην συμμαχεύεσθαι II. 169, στρατείας στρατεύεσθαι II. 169, στρατείας συστρατεύεσθαι II. 170, τέμνειν τὰ τόμια II. 87. This mannerism appears, then, least freq. in II. — Σόλων: cf. §§ 108 *fin.*, 257, 6; I. 6. Considering that Aeschines opens and closes his oration with mention of Solon, it is natural that Demosthenes in the reply should also appeal to him, that he might not appear to belong to Aeschines as a patron saint. Cf. *Dem.* XVIII. 6.

5. εὐκοσμίας: more particular information on this point is given in I. 23 ff. — ἐξῇν: see App. A purpose not attained depending on a wish not attained, ἐβουλόμην; hence a secondary tense of the indic. G. 216, 3; II. 884.

6. σωφρόνως: finds its explanation in the following, ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς, and its opposite, § 4. 7; and refers to the proper bearing of the orator as he comes to the bema in his turn without pushing his way up.



ἀλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐν μέρει  
 10 περὶ ἐκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μοι  
 δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι αἷ τε κρίσεις ἐλάχισται  
 3 γίγνεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὠμολογημένα

9. τὸν βουλόμενον: the transition from the dat. to the acc. with the inf., facilitated here by the great number of intervening words, is more common after προσήκει. Cf. Isocr. v. 127, προσήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν στέργειν ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνουσι κατακοῦντες, σὲ δ' ὥσπερ ἕφετον γεγεννημένον ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πατρίδα νομίζειν. — ἐν μέρει: i.e. one after another, as each one's turn comes. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 347 d, λέγοντας τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἐν μέρει ἑαυτῶν κοσμίως. It is to be taken in close connection with καθ' ἡλικίαν.

10. γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι: the omission of the art. perhaps marks the phrase as a survival from the time when the art. had demonstrative force. Cf. Xen. *An.* i. 6. 9, v. 5. 3. Dem. iv. 1; xviii. 189. Lys. xii. 27. Altogether different is i. 153, σκέψασθε δὲ τὰς γνώμας ἅς ἀποφαίνεται ὁ ποιήτης. — οὕτω γὰρ ἂν: the same expression with the same separation of ἂν from its verb, increasing the emphasis on οὕτω, is found in i. 8. See GMT. 42, 2, n.

11. διοικεῖσθαι: used of the conduct of public business. Many lawsuits necessarily arose from the anomaly that, at Athens, the responsibility for observance of the legal forms, rested not with the officer presiding over the debate, but with the speakers who brought forward measures, οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, οἱ ῥήτορες. Any looseness in method of procedure must lead to lawsuits. The immense number of these at Athens is too well known to need comment. Cf. § 194. Ar. *Nub.* 208; Ar. 41. See the plot of Ar. *Vesp.*

Aeschines was personally disinclined to engage in lawsuits (cf. i. 1, οὐδένα πρότερον τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε γραφὴν γραψάμενος οὐτ' ἐν εὐθύναις λυπήσας), and claims to have been drawn into this one only by the unbridled excesses of Demosthenes and his party, who are making havoc of the constitution. Cf. § 7. The complete coincidence in time of the two infs. (for impf. ind. in dir. disc.), representing the two consequences of the supposed restoration of Solon's law, is expressed by τέ — τέ = as — so. Cf. Thuc. vi. 34. 4, ὁ δὲ μάλιστα ἐγὼ τε νομίζω ἐπικαιρον, ὑμεῖς τε ἥκιστ' ἂν ὀξέως πείθοισθε, ὅμως εἰρήσεται. In point of fact, however, the actual connection between the multiplication of lawsuits and the neglect of the orators to observe the order of seniority is hardly apparent, and the argument is weak.

§ 3. 1. The long and somewhat involved sentence, extending through §§ 3, 4, is characterized by Blass as 'bombast' because the conclusion, which does not begin till § 4. 3, σεσίγηται μὲν expresses only the same thing as the premise. The whole sentence, he asserts, might be expressed thus: "Since all our good institutions are gone out of use, and the orators are completely without restraint, all our good customs are gone out of use, and we can do nothing against the excesses of the orators." *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III. 2. p. 205. Is there not, however, an advance in the thought from the arrogance of the orators to tumults in the assembly,

καλῶς ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυσται, καὶ γράφουσὶ τινας ῥαδίως  
 παρὰ νόμους γνώμας καὶ ταῦθ' ἑτεροὶ τινας τὰ ψηφίσματα  
 ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες  
 5 προεδρεύειν ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἂν δέ  
 τις τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὄντως λάχῃ προεδρεύειν καὶ  
 τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύῃ, τοῦτον οἱ  
 τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινὴν ἀλλ' ἤδη ἰδίαν αὐτῶν  
 ἡγούμενοι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγέλλειν, καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς  
 10 ἰδιώτας καὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιούμενοι,

which no ordinary safeguards can check? 1. 95 has a similar aggregation of clauses in a single sent. — πάντα τὰ πρότερον κτλ.: not only principles but also political institutions, as is shown by καταλέλυσται. The breaking up of old institutions has been brought about by neglect rather than by new enactments.

2. ῥαδίως: temere.

3. γνώμας: equiv. to ψηφίσματα, as is shown by § 230; freq. so used by the orators. These measures are παράνομοι when they clash with existing laws. If the ἐπιστάτης refused to bring forward the motion for discussion and to put it to vote (γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζειν, §§ 124, 128; II. 65), he might thus come into a conflict with the ruling majority. Cf. II. 84, and the case of Socrates who was ἐπιστάτης under the earlier arrangement of πρυτάνεις, Plato *Apol.* 32 b. Xen. *Hell.* I. 7. 13-15.

4. ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου: after the analogy of ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. The same charge of tampering with the lot, which seems to have been a common practice, occurs in § 73, καθεζόμενος βουλευτῆς ἂν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, and § 62, ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης ὅτε λαχὼν οὐτ' ἐπιλα-

χῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πρίδμενος. Still more explicit is the charge against Timarchus, I. 106, οὐκ ἔστιν ἥντινα πάποτ' οὐκ ἤρξεν ἀρχὴν, οὐδεμίαν λαχὼν οὐδὲ χειροτονηθείς, ἀλλὰ πάσας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πρίδμενος. On the method of casting lots for officials, see Schömann, I. p. 402.

7. ἀναγορεύῃ: used of the official announcement (renuñtiation) of the result of a vote by the presiding officer.

9. εἰσαγγέλλειν: εἰσαγγελία, a special form of indictment, was in the first instance brought before the senate or the assembly (see Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* 2d ed. p. 323), and the party at the head of affairs often greatly abused this method of procedure. Cf. Lys. xxx. 22.

10. ἰδιώτας: not in distinction from officials, but from orators, in whose hands lay the management of affairs. Cf. I. 7. The same distinction is implied in § 214. 2.—τὰς δυναστείας: the controlling influence in the state. "This power, which properly belongs to the laws, a certain clique of orators, with whom Demosthenes is supreme, arrogates to itself." This δυναστεία disturbs ἰσωνομία, ἰσηγορία and παρρησία. Cf. Thuc. III. 62. 4. The word is



4 καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι  
τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὀργῆς κρίνουσιν, σε-  
σίγηται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα  
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ  
5 πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων" καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν  
ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι  
κρατεῖν δύνανται οὐθ' οἱ νόμοι οὐθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὐθ'

well chosen to bring odium upon Demosthenes, appealing, as it does, to the deep-seated hatred of tyrants.—*ἐαυτοῖς*: with the mid. voice as in § 89, *ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος*. H. 812 b. Cf. Dem. xix. 240. Xen. An. v. 6. 17, and the examples given by Rehdantz on Lysurg. 70. With the act., as in Isae. vii. 6, *πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιποίησεν*, the refl. pron. is much more common.

§ 4. 2. τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων: if this does not refer to *εἰσαγγέλλειν* (§ 3. 9), it is an allusion to irregular trials before the assembly, like that of the generals at Arginusae. Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 7. 13 ff. Constitutional remedies through the courts, *γραφὰι παρανόμων*, were too slow and tame for demagogues who were conscious of the power to control the assembly, in which body, by stirring the popular passion, μετ' ὀργῆς, more striking results could be produced. Owing, however, to the large juries, the demagogic arts found some place in the courts also. Cf. ii. 3, *Δημοσθένης οὐ χαίρει δικαίοις λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμπερίαν ὀργὴν ἐκκαλέσασθαι βεβούληται*. Demosthenes' great reply is a splendid example of this feature in Attic legal oratory. For the excessive prevalence of *εἰσαγγέλαι* in Athens at this time, cf. Hyperid. Euxen. 18, *ἀλλ' ἔγωγε θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ προσίστανται ὑμῖν*

*αἱ τοιαῦται εἰσαγγέλαι* κτλ.—*σεσίγηται*: Blass, *Att. Bered.* III. 2. p. 199, sees in this word a trace of Aeschines' familiarity with the drama. See the other examples there given.

4. *τίς ἀγορεύειν . . . γεγονότων*: this formula occurs also in i. 23. καὶ πάλιν . . . Ἀθηναίων is here added brachylogically, so that two separate proclamations seem blended into one. Elsewhere only the words *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται* are cited as the regular formula. Cf. Dem. xviii. 170. Ar. Achar. 45; Eccl. 130; Thesm. 379. It would, however, be unfair to conclude that there was no such law of Solon as Aeschines here describes, but only that it had gone out of use, since the discussion of public affairs fell more and more into the hands of professional orators. The spirit of Solon's law may be recognized in the proceedings mentioned in ii. 25, 47. See Schol. on Dem. iv. 1, *ἀναστάντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐδυοχέραινον τινες*, which is only an obvious interpretation of the apology with which Demosthenes there opens his oration. Cf. Isoc. vi. 1.

6. οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται: the same complaint is made in [Dem.] xxv. 90, *οὐ πρύταμις, οὐ κῆρυξ, οὐκ ἐπιστάτης, οὐχ ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλὴ τοῦτου κρατεῖν δύνανται*.

7. οἱ πρυτάνεις: it would appear

οἱ πρόεδροί οὐθ' ἢ προεδρεύουσα φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος  
 5 τῆς πόλεως. τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν  
 ὄντων τῇ πόλει τοιούτων ὁποίους τινὰς αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς  
 ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας,  
 εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων, αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γρα-  
 5 φαί. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν  
 ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς  
 6 πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-

from this passage that the old *πρυτάνεις* still had something more to do than merely to select an *ἐπιστάτης* for the senate and the assembly as explained in § 2. 3. See App.

8. οἱ πρόεδροι: i.e. the *ἐπιστάτης* with his eight colleagues, who formed a board to assist him in keeping order, or to control him in case he tried to act as a partisan for his own tribe. See Goodwin, *Transactions of Am. Phil. Association* for 1885, p. 168.—*προεδρεύουσα φυλή*: acc. to 1. 33 it was enacted about 345 B.C. that one entire tribe, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως, should be selected by lot to assist the *πρυτάνεις* and *πρόεδροι* in keeping order in the assembly. See App. Such extensive preparations for keeping order show that stormy times were expected in the assembly. For incidental mention of such scenes, cf. Dem. xix. 46. Plato *Prot.* 219 c.

c) *Necessity and importance of the γραφή παρανόμων*. § 5.

§ 5. 1. *καιρῶν*: relations, like tempora usually in an unfavorable sense.

2. *ὁποίους τινὰς*: pred. after *εἶναι*. *tis* makes the rel. more indefinite. "About what you know them to be." Cf. Plato *Phaedo*, 61 e, *πρέπει διασκο-*

*πεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ποίαν τινὰ αὐτὴν οἰόμεθα εἶναι*. The reverse of this, definiteness, in the relative is expressed by an appended *περ*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 146, *οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν*.

4. *καὶ γὰρ*: I too, as well as Demosthenes. See, however, on § 41. 2.—*αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί*: the point to which all the preceding leads up. "In this suit I stand as the defender of the only remaining safeguard of the state, the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*: all the others Demosthenes and his party have overthrown."

6. *ὅτι λήσετε . . . παραχωρήσαντες*: that, before you know it, you will have given up your constitution little by little to a contemptible faction.

7. *πολιτείας*: gen. of separation after *παραχωρήσαντες*.—*τισί*: see on § 1. 3.

d) *In a republic the freedom of the citizen is dependent on the maintenance of the laws*. § 6.

§ 6. 2. *ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι* κτλ.: this enlargement of the thought just expressed, viz. the republic is slipping away, Aeschines gives in the same form in 1. 4, where he takes pains to disclaim the credit of having originated it. It is a virtual quot.



ποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικούνται  
 δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν  
 5 ἐφέσθηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νό-  
 μοις τοῖς κειμένοις. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἄγνοεῖτω,  
 ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι, ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς δικα-  
 στήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρρησίας.  
 10 διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν  
 δικάστων ὄρκῳ "ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους," ἐκείνῳ

from Isocr. xii. 132, ἐγὼ δὲ φημι τὰς  
 μὲν ἰδέας τῶν πολιτειῶν τρεῖς εἶναι μό-  
 νας, ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, μοναρχίαν.  
*Cf.* Plato *Rep.* 338 d. The orators  
 not infrequently repeat themselves  
 (compare Dem. iv. 2 with Dem. ix.  
 5), and borrow from one another (see  
 on § 1. 1). For further illustrations,  
 see Jebb, *Att. Or.* Introd. p. lxxii.

7. ὅτι, ὅταν: the same cacophonous  
 combination occurs in Lys. xxx. 21,  
 ἐνθυμείσθε τοίνυν ὅτι, ὅταν μὲν, and  
 elsewhere in the orators.

9. παρρησίας: freedom of speech,  
 implying the whole range of political  
 freedom. In Isocr. vii. 20, on the  
 contrary, the word is used in a bad  
 sense. That the argument is fair is  
 proved by the fact that the first step  
 in the usurpation of the Four Hun-  
 dred was the abolition of the γραφὴ  
 παρανόμων. *Cf.* Thuc. viii. 67. 2, ἐξεῖναι  
 μὲν ἀξήμιον εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βοῦ-  
 ληται· ἣν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται  
 παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ,  
 μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν.

10. ὁ νομοθέτης: Solon. 'So high  
 was the esteem in which Solon was  
 held by the Athenians as the founder  
 of their social polity, that although  
 many important reforms were effected  
 at various periods, he still continued

to be regarded as the law-giver (ὁ νομο-  
 θέτης) and the whole body of laws  
 passed under his name.' Smith, *Dict.*  
*of Antiq.* s.v. Nomothetes. See Schö-  
 mann, I. p. 389.

11. δικαστῶν ὄρκῳ: the formula  
 for the jurors' oath seems to be cor-  
 rectly preserved in all its essential  
 details in Dem. xxiv. 149 ff., where  
 the words ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους  
 καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθη-  
 ναίων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων  
 stand at the beginning. Aeschines'  
 τοῦτο πρῶτον is, then, literally cor-  
 rect. *Cf.* Dem. xviii. 2, 121. The  
 judgment given in Lyeurg. 3, as to  
 what constitutes the bulwarks of the  
 republic, has an appearance of greater  
 comprehensiveness: τρία γὰρ ἐστί τὰ  
 μέγιστα, ἃ διαφυλάττει καὶ διασφίξει τὴν  
 δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως εὐδαιμο-  
 νίαν, πρῶτον μὲν νόμων τάξις, δεύτερον  
 δ' ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ψῆφος, τρίτον δ' ἡ τοῖς  
 τοῖς τὰ δίκηματα παραδιδόσα κρίσις. But  
 of course it suits Aeschines' im-  
 mediate purpose to lay great stress on  
 one thing, the jurors' oath. (For  
 this natural habit with the orators,  
*cf.* Dem. xxiv. 4.) Then follows  
 the natural deduction, line 12, ἂν δια-  
 τηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σφίζεται  
 καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία. This epiphonema

γε εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι, ἂν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει,  
 7 σφύζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία. ἅ χρὴ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς  
 μισεῖν τοὺς τὰ παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι  
 μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον  
 ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδέν' ἔαν ἂν.  
 5 θρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγο-  
 ρίας, οἳ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνηγοροῦντές τισι τῶν  
 ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων  
 δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβάζομενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν

closes the paragraph with eclat, and forms the climax of all the preceding argument. See on § 167 *fin.*

e) *Exhortation to the jurors to be firm, strict, and conscientious.* §§ 7, 8.

§ 7. 1. *διαμνημονεύοντας*: as in § 8. 1, *εἰδ* = *from beginning to end*, i.e. not in a merely transitory way.

2. *τὰ παράνομα*: generic art., as in §§ 191, 192.

5. *ἐξαιρεῖσθαι*: describes the activity of *οἱ ἐξαιτούμενοι*, § 196. — *μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας*: attached to *μηδέν' ἀνθρώπων* with a little irregularity of form for *μήτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς συνηγοροῦντάς τισιν*, because the orator is thinking of the fact rather than the persons.

6. *συνηγοροῦντες*: see App. The generals of this time were very different from those of the times during and immediately following the Persian wars. Then each general was a citizen who was a general in the field, but a leading statesman in the assembly at home; and so had a double influence and a double responsibility. Pericles was the most noted case of this. The generals of this time, on the other hand, were obliged, for the most part, to belong to one of the political parties, relying on the orator

of the party for protection at home during their absence, and in turn protecting the orator in the courts by their intercession. Thus Chares and Charidemus were party associates of Demosthenes, Phocion of Eubulus and Aeschines. The orator in each party was its leader (*cf.* Dem. II. 29, *ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἐκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὲρ τούτῳ*), but the support of the general might be of the utmost importance to him. In the trial on the Embassy, Aeschines seems to have barely escaped through the intercession of Phocion. *Cf.* II. 184. On the relations between orator and general, *cf.* § 196 and I. 132.

7. *λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν*: *are making havoc of the constitution.* *Cf.* Dem. IX. 31. Lys. XXVIII. 15. *Act. Ap.* VIII. 3, *Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμάλνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. — *τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις*: the support of influential foreigners also was a source of safety. *Cf.* the case of Jason of Phrae and Timotheus, Nep. *Timoth.* IV. 3. Perhaps Callias (*cf.* § 86) is here intended.

8. *ἀναβιβάζομενοι*: used technically of a defendant bringing up friends to the bar to influence the jurors. *Cf.* Plato *Apol.* 34 d, *ἀλλ' ὁμῶς οὐδέν' αὐτῶν δεῦρο ἀναβιβασόμενος δεήσομαι ὑμῶν*



δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευσάμενοι· ἀλλ'  
 10 ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν ἢν  
 ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχυνθήτε ἐκλι-  
 πεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἢν τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς  
 8 δημοκρατίας ὄντες τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. κάκεινο χρὴ δια-  
 μνημονεύειν, ὅτι νυνὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι  
 τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν  
 πάρεισι καὶ ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν  
 5 ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ τῶν ὄρκων,  
 οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἐὰν ἐξελέγξω-

ἀποψηφίσασθαι, where Socrates alludes to the custom of bringing up dependant relatives, as Aeschines brings up his aged father on the trial concerning the Embassy. Cf. II. 179. Dem. XXI. 99, 186.—*τινὲς ἐκφεύγουσιν*: the orators are accustomed to refer to examples from most recent times without giving names. Cf. §§ 196, 252. Dem. LIV. 25. Dinarch. I. 56, 62. Provided the judgment of the orator is not in conflict with the verdict of the court in the case referred to, names are given. Cf. Dem. XXI. 175-182; XXIV. 134, 138.

9. *πολιτείαν πολιτευσάμενοι*: used of the political activity of the *ῥήτορες*.

10. *τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν*: prob. a side thrust at Demosthenes. Cf. § 159. Dinarch. I. 12, 71, 81 repeat the stale charge of *λιποταξία* against Demosthenes. If this comparison was not an oratorical commonplace, Demosthenes himself may be said to have furnished Aeschines with his weapon. Cf. Dem. xv. 32, *ἐχρην γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείας τάξεως ἥνπερ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς στραταιας ἔχετε. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν αὕτη; ὑμεῖς τὸν λείποντα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάξιν ταχθεῖσαν ἄτιμον οἴεσθε προσήκειν*

εἶναι. χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τάξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λείποντας καὶ πολιτευομένους ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἀτίμους τοῦ συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιέσθαι. For other examples of this metaphor in the orators, see Westermann on Dem. III. 36.

11. *ταχθῇ*: for the subjv. instead of the more regular opt., see GMT. 34, 1 b.

12. *φύλακες*: cf. I. 7, καὶ τούτους τοὺς νόμους ἀναγράψαντες ὑμῖν παρακατέθεντο καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν ἐπέστησαν φύλακας.

13. *τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν*: with somewhat more stately effect than *τῆμερον*. Cf. Plato *Legg.* 767 a, καὶ τινα τρόπον ἄρχων (δικαστὴς) οὐ πάνυ φαῦλος γίγνεται τὴν τόθ' ἡμέραν, ἥπερ ἂν κρίνων τὴν δίκην ἀποτελῇ.

§ 8. 2. *παρακαταθέμενοι*: having deposited, as in a bank. Cf. I. 7 (quoted on § 7. 12), 187, τὴν τῶν νόμων παρακαταθήκην.

3. *διαπιστεύσαντες*: did as in § 7. 1. Cf. I. 188, καὶ τοῦτω περὶ τῶν μεγίστων διαπιστεύσομεν; Obs. the chiasmic arrangement of *παρακαταθέμενοι* and *διαπιστεύσαντες*. τὴν πολιτείαν, which with τὴν πόλιν is superfluous, is put in only to round out this arrangement.

6. *ἐξελέγξωμεν*: Aeschines uses the pl. of himself again in § 50. 1, where

μεν Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γεγραφότα καὶ ψευδῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς παρὰ νόμους γνώμας, βεβαιούτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, 10 κολάζετε τοὺς ὑπεναντίας τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ συμφέροντι πολιτευομένους. κὰν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διά- 55 νοιαν ἀκούσητε τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ δίκαια καὶ εὖορκα καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω προειρηθῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων οἱ κεῖνται

ἡμῖν is contrasted with ὑμῖν, the jurors. Cf. II. 183, συντάξας καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίαν. I. 141, ἵν' εἰδῇτε ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς τι ἤδη ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐμάθομεν, λέξαμέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων. There is no certain case of this usage in Dem., for in XXIII. 26, 61 the orator is not speaking of himself alone, as appears *ibid.* §§ 63, 215.

7 f. The principal point of Aeschines' oration is to prove that Ctesiphon's proposal conflicts with existing laws, i.e. it contains παράνομα. Subordinate to this, but in Aeschines' view very important, is the proof that the allegations of the bill are false, ψευδῇ, and that its proposals are contrary to the best interests of the state, ἀσύμφορα. This enumeration supplies the place of the usual *prothesis*, which but for this, is entirely wanting in this oration. See Blass, III. 2. p. 183.

9. βεβαιούτε: since every encroachment on the constitution imperils the republic (cf. § 196. 4 ff; Dem. XXIV. 15), the jurors in opposing illegal bills are defending their own political freedom.

14. πάσῃ τῇ πόλει: these last words, made emphatic by hyperbaton, close the prooemium with strong effect,

appealing to the patriotism of the jurors as the highest principle. They return to the key-note of the whole strain, presenting the speaker as a defender of the constitution and the laws.

The number of groups of two or three nouns strung together with καὶ in this section is large enough (five) to constitute an inelegance of style. See on § 35. 8. Hermogenes (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II. p. 413), calls Aeschines ἀμελέστερος.

#### PART I. THE PAPANOMA OF CTESIPHON'S BILL. §§ 9-48.

First παράνομος: Demosthenes, at the time when Ctesiphon brought forward his bill, had not yet rendered his account. §§ 9-31.

a) Origin of the law against crowning persons from whom an account is due. §§ 9-12.

§ 9. 1. ὅλης: the indictment in general, contrasted with the separate counts upon which the speaker now enters. Cf. I. 3, τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔλου ἀγῶνος. 132 τὴν ἑλὴν ἐυστασιν τοῦ ἀγῶνος. For the same form of transition, cf. Plato *Phaedo*, 111 c, καὶ ἑλὴν μὲν



περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τυγχάνει  
γεγραφὼς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι.  
5 ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς  
μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικούντες, καὶ δωρο-  
δοκούντες περὶ ἕκαστα τούτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς τε  
ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου  
πόρρωθεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύναις ἐπαίνοις καὶ  
10 κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις εἰς τὴν μεγίστην μὲν  
ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγοροὺς, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μάλ-  
10 λον τοὺς δικαστάς. πολλοὶ γὰρ πάντῃ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐπ'  
αὐτοφώρῃ κλέπται τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξε-  
λεγχόμενοι διεφύγγανον ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· εἰκότως.  
ἤσχύνοντο γὰρ οἶμαι οἱ δικασταί, εἰ φανήσεται αὐτὸς

δὴ τὴν γῆν οὕτω πεφυκέναι καὶ τὰ περὶ  
τὴν γῆν· τόπους δ' ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι κτλ. —  
μετρίως: see on § 1. 3.

3. ὑπευθύνων: a very adequate explanation of the word is given in the course of the discussion, §§ 9-31. — τὸ ψήφισμα: his bill. Strictly only *προβούλευμα* as yet. Cf. § 230. Before Aeschines began to speak, the court listened to the reading of Ctesiphon's bill, as well as of the laws with which it was claimed to be inconsistent, and of Aeschines' indictment. *περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων* would therefore be less abruptly introduced than might appear to the mere reader.

5 f. ἄρχοντες . . . διοικούντες: chiasmic arrangement. The parties are attrib. up to *προσλαμβάνοντες*, which is circumstantial. The collectors of the revenue would of all magistrates be most exposed to the temptation to take bribes. The allies of Athens also fostered this vice by always seeking to win politicians and party leaders by gifts. — *δωροδοκούντες*: an al-

lusion to the most prevalent rotteness in the state of Athens. The word is wearisomely frequent in the orators.

7. *προσλαμβάνοντες*: by taking as partners. — *τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας*: i.e. eloquent and influential members of the *βουλὴ* (see Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* 2d ed. p. 248).

8. *τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου*: i.e. the regular orators, the party leaders in the assembly.

9. *προκατελάμβανον*: anticipate. Cf. § 248. 2. A serious investigation or prosecution was no longer possible without making the people ridiculous.

§ 10. 2. *ὄντες*: suppl. partic. after *ἐξελεγχόμενοι*. Cf. I. 113, *ἐξελεγχθη κλέπτης ὢν*.

3. *διεφύγγανον*: the ordinary legal term is *ἀποφεύγειν*, cf. §§ 62. 5, 193 f. (or *ἀποφυγάνειν*, cf. Dem. xxiii. 74). For the form of the verb, cf. *καταφυγάδην*, § 208. 10.

4. *ἤσχύνοντο γὰρ*: the real explanation of *πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς*.

- 5 ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 ἐν αὐτῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ὅτι στεφα-  
 νοῦνται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἔξεισιν  
 ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύνas ὠφληκῶς.  
 10 ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ  
 περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης  
 11 τοῦ δήμου. κατιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον

§ 9. 11. The first three lines of the paragraph disturb the logical order. Though introduced by γάρ they do not at all explain the perplexity (ἀπορίαν) of the jurors, and might better come at the end of the section with ὥστε. The shame of the jurors would be partly explained by the fact that they themselves had constituted a large part of the assembly that voted the crown. — εἰ φανήσονται κτλ.: a causal clause. Cf. §§ 148. 6, 259. 3. GMT. 56; II. 928. Cf. Dem. viii. 55, καίτοι ἔγωγ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυκεῖ τινες ὅμων εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα Φίλιππος ἀρπάζων οὐ λυκεῖ.

5. τυχόν: perhaps. Acc. abs. G. 278, 2; H. 973. See App.

7. ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης: a standing formula for *εὔανος* in the inscriptions (cf. CIA. II. 114 A, 4-16); sometimes ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, οἱ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκεν. Cf. ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, §§ 42, 49. Cf. also § 155, 246.

8. ἔξεισιν: more regular would be ἐξιών, suppl. partic. co-ord. with ἀναγορευόμενος: const. changed perhaps to avoid the accumulation of participles. The sent. would have shown more nerve with ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου omitted and ὠφληκῶς left as the true contrast to ἀναγορευόμενος, "one

day proclaimed, the next convicted." What is lost in vigor is gained in vividness of presentation.

9. κλοπῆς ἕνεκα: a pointed contrast to ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. It is otherwise otiose, as the main point of the εὐθύναι was generally the question of κλοπή. See all the following discussion to § 32. — εὐθύνas ὠφληκῶς: cf. Andoc. i. 73, ὅσοι εὐθύνas ὠφλον ἄρξαντες ἀρχάς. Perhaps formed after the analogy of the common legal phrase δίκην ὀφλεῖν. Common are εὐθύνas δοῦναι and εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν. The penalty for appropriating public money was a fine of ten times the amount stolen. Cf. Dem. xxiv. 112, εἰ μὲν τις κλοπῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐθύνas ἐδωκεν τούτῳ τὴν δεκαπλασίαν εἶναι. In case the money was taken as a bribe the penalty might be the same or death. Cf. Dinarch. i. 60, περὶ δὲ τῶν δωροδοκούντων ἡ θάνατον ἢ δεκαπλοῦν τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λήμματος τὸ τίμημα τῶν δάρων.

11. ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης κτλ.: to save the credit of the people. ὑπὲρ and περὶ used almost interchangeably as in § 165. 2 and often in Dem. Cf. Dem. i. 5, οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χάρας πολεμοῦσιν. Compare Dem. iv. i with iv. 43.

§ 11. 1. νομοθέτης: i.e. some statesman occupied with legislation whom



καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς  
 ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκα-  
 τεληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου εὐρηται κρείττους τινὲς τῶν  
 5 νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῶν ἔρει, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες.  
 τούτων γάρ [τινὲς] τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων οἱ  
 μὲν φύσει μέτριοι [εἰσιν], εἰ δὴ τις μέτριος τῶν τὰ παρά-  
 νομα γραφόντων, ἀλλ' οὖν προβάλλονταί γε τι πρὸ  
 τῆς αἰσχύνης. προσγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψήφισματα  
 10 στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνas τῆς  
 12 ἀρχῆς δῶ. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται· προ-  
 καταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθυναί·  
 ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι  
 γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε.

Aeschines does not see fit to name (cf. § 44. 1); not necessarily an obscure person, but certainly not Solon, who would have been mentioned by name or called ὁ νομοθέτης. See on § 6. 10.

2. καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα: see on § 33. 1.—τὸν ἀπαγορεύοντα: the art. would be justified by the consideration that the law had just been read. See on τὸ ψήφισμα, § 9. 3. The existence of a law such as Aeschines here appeals to is shown by the remark in an inscription containing a proposal like Ctesiphon's, καὶ περὶ τούτων πάντων ἀπολελόγισται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, δέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὰς εὐθύνas, *CIG.* No. 108. That this law was so often broken as to be practically in abeyance is shown by this section.

3. προκατεληφότος: made provision against. See on προκατελάμβανον, § 9. 9.

4. τινὲς: see on § 1. 3.

5. οὓς: with τινὲς for antec., obj. of ἔρει.—λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες: cf. § 35. 4. See on § 5. 6.

6. στεφανούντων: bent on crowning; pres. of attempted action. *G.* 200, n. 2; *H.* 825.

7. εἰ δὴ: if really (*H.* 1037, 4), used to introduce an interjected limiting clause. Cf. § 155. 6, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ. 1. 51, εἰ δὴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ μέτριον.

8. ἀλλ' οὖν: at least. *H.* 1048, 2. Cf. § 86. 4, πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσπειοῦνθ' ὁμῖν εἶναι φίλοι. See App.—προβάλλονταί... αἰσχύνης: cf. I. 74, οὗτοι μέντοι ὅταν πρὸς τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ γίνωνται, ὅμως πρὸ γε τῆς αἰσχύνης προβάλλονταί τι.

9. προσγράφουσι: put in the additional clause.

10. ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνas τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ: not a dir. quot. as in §§ 31, 203.—λόγον καὶ εὐθύνas: words constantly coupled in this oration; one used as the equivalent of the other in *Dem.* iv. 33. 47. Here the reference is to the two boards before whom the accounts were presented, λογισταὶ καὶ εὐθυνοί. See Schömann, I. p. 407.

§ 12. 2 = § 9. 9 expressed passively.

5 Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον καὶ τὴν πρόσφασιν ἣν ἀρτίως προείπον ὑμῖν ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον πρὶν εὐθύνas δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

13 Λέξουσιν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕτερόν τινα λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν

5. *ὑπερπηδήσας*: used to paint the audacity of the defendant. Cf. §§ 200. 6, 202. 2. Dem. xxi. 73. The ordinary word would be *παραβαίνειν*. Cf. § 194. 7, *παραπηδήσειαν*.

7. *πρὶν λόγον πρὶν εὐθύνas δοῦναι*: the single thought, *λόγον καὶ εὐθύνas δοῦναι* (cf. § 11. 10), is, for oratorical effect, separated into two members. Cf. I. 32, *τούτους οὖν ἐξείργει ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τούτους ἀπαγορεύει μὴ δημηγορεῖν*. Cf. Cornificius, iv. 34, *quae ejusdem verbi redintegratio vehementer auditorem commovet et volnus majus efficit, quasi aliquod telum saepius perveniat in eandem partem corporis*.

8. *μεταξύ*: though modifying *γέγραφε* (G. 227, n. 1; H. 976 a) is felt as an adjunct of the partic. Its separation from *ἄρχοντα* makes it emphatic. "In the very year of his administration," when of course the giving an account was an impossibility.

b) *Refutation of the first supposed evasion of the defendant, viz. that Demosthenes' office was not an ἀρχή, and that he, therefore, was not ὑπεύθυνος*. §§ 13-16.

§ 13. Since palpable illegality re-

quires no proof, the speaker turns at once with the figure *προκατάληψις* to the possible or probable evasions (*ἀντιθέσεις*) of the defendant. Accusatio is confined to *praeoccupatio* in the place of *refutatio*.

1. *ἕτερόν τινα λόγον*: a different explanation, i.e. different from the general exposition of the law just given (*τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ*). Cf. I. 121, *ἕτερον δ' ἐγὼ σοι ὑποβαλῶ λόγον*. Demosthenes' line of defence is not correctly anticipated. He frankly confesses himself *ὑπεύθυνος* (cf. Dem. xviii. 111), leaving this part of Aeschines' speech 'in the air.'

2. *ἄρα*: gives a tinge of irony. Cf. § 54. 4.

3. *αἰρετός*: *χειροτονητοί* are officials chosen by the assembly of the whole people, *αἰρετοί* are officials chosen by each *φυλή*. Cf. § 30. The *φυλαί* were, in the present case, requested by a vote of the assembly (*κατὰ ψήφισμα*) to choose *τειχοποιοί*. Cf. § 27. Demosthenes was chosen by his tribe *Pandionis*. Cf. § 31. *τειχοποιοί* were prob. chosen only for special occasions. See Woolsey on this passage, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, VII. p. 429.

4. *ἀρχάς*: pred. after *εἶναι*.



- 5 ἐκείνας τ' εἶναι ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ  
 Θησείῳ, καὶ ἐκείνας ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις,  
 στρατηγούς καὶ ἱπάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς,  
 τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ  
 14 ψήφισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον  
 ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν  
 ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέ-  
 γραπται· “τὰς χειροτονητάς,” φησὶν, “ἀρχὰς” ἀπάσας ἐνὶ  
 5 περιλαβὼν ὀνόματι καὶ προειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι  
 ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας,” φησί, “τῶν

5. ἐκείνας: subj. of εἶναι. For the gender, see H. 632 a. — θεσμοθέται: six of the nine archons, equal to the other three in rank, but not each marked by such special functions. See Schömann, I. p. 410. — ἀποκληροῦσιν: after the full development of the democracy at Athens only a few officers, like the generals and the chief finance-minister, were elected (χειροτονητοί); nearly all were designated by lot (κληρωτοί). The drawing of the lots took place annually under the supervision of the θεσμοθέται in the Theseum, where all citizens who desired to be considered as candidates assembled for the purpose after handing in their names. See Schömann, I. p. 402.

6. ἀρχαιρεσίαις: elections of magistrates (i.e. the χειροτονητοί), held nearly half a year before the time of their inauguration, which took place at the beginning of the Attic year, the first day of Hecatombaeion (July, see on § 27. 5). Over the assembly where the generals were elected all nine archons presided. See Schömann, I. p. 300.

7. τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς: subordinate to the στρατηγοί and ἱπάρχου

were the ταξίαρχοι and φύλαρχοι, for infantry and cavalry respectively. Cf. Dem. iv. 26.

8. πραγματείας: pred. like ἀρχαί line 4. The word is chosen like ἐπιμέλεια and διακονία (line 4) to make a factitious contrast to ἀρχή, business vs. magistracy.

§ 14. 1. νόμον ὑμέτερον: the jurors are skilfully arrayed against the defendants, with the sharp contrast, *their talk, your law*. The following rel. clause, with the emphatic ὑμεῖς, makes the antagonism still more explicit.

4. φησὶν: says he, sc. the law-giver. Superfluous insertion after γέγραπται, exactly as in Dem. ix. 44, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, “καὶ ἄτιμος” φησὶ “τεθνάτω.” Cf. § 21. 2. A good parallel is the redundant use of Eng. ‘says he’ by many story-tellers. — ἀρχάς: equiv. to ἄρχοντας and co-ord. with ἐπιστάτας (line 6), both being subjs. of ἄρχειν, § 15. 2, and ἐγγράφειν, § 15. 4.

5. προειπὼν: pronouncing at the very outset. Cf. Dem. xxiii. 25, καὶ προειπὼν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νόμον “ἐὰν ἀποκτείνῃ” κρίσιν πεποίηκεν ὅμως. — ἀρχάς: pred.

6. ἐπιστάτας: not to be confounded with the officers mentioned in the note on ἐφεστηκότων, § 2. 3.

δημοσίων ἔργων·" ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων· "καὶ πάντας ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσιν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων·" οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου· τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν ἀλλ' ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ," ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἀρχουσι, "καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς," καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας

7. ἔστι: note the pres. tense. See *Introd.* § 28.

10. ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων: this consisted in the power to receive a complaint, to prepare the case for a hearing and to preside at the trial. See Lübker, *Reallexikon des classischen Alterthums*, s.v. ἡγεμονία, 2. Cf. *Arist. Pol.* iv. 15, 4, ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διορίσαι βῆθιον, ποίας δὲ καλεῖν ἀρχάς. μάλιστα δ' ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτόν τούτων ὅσαι ἀποδέδοται βουλευέσθαι τε περὶ τινῶν καὶ κρίναι καὶ ἐπιτάζει.

§ 15. 1. οὐ διακονεῖν ἀλλά: words of the speaker, put in to give point to ἀρχειν.

2. ἀρχειν: the emphatic word to which the whole argument leads up. Prob. in the law to which Aeschines refers, the stress was on δοκιμασθέντας, ἀρχειν being used loosely. He makes a skilful but unfair use of the phraseology of the law. In straining this point he weakens his case, for the other office of Demosthenes was prob. indisputably an ἀρχή. Cf. § 24. 4, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχήν.—ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: δοκιμασία for the higher magistrates took place before the βουλὴ, where any citizen could object

to the candidate (questions of birth and character only being raised). The δικαστήριον was then open to the appeal of the candidate or of the challenger. For inferior magistrates the whole matter was prob. settled in the δικαστήριον. See Schömann, I. pp. 403, 407. Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* pp. 236-246. δοκιμασία, as a preliminary, and εὐθυναί, as a sequel, of a magistracy surrounded the Athenian civil service with theoretically perfect safeguards.—ἐπειδὴ . . . ἀρχουσι: apparently senseless words. Prob. not a clause of the law loosely quoted. Aeschines seems to be making the useless point that δοκιμασία was as universal as εὐθυναί, applying not only to the officials mentioned but even (καὶ) to the κληρωταὶ ἀρχαί. Possibly the underlying thought here as well as § 29. 6 is that δοκιμασία implies εὐθυναί.

3. ἀρχαί: cf. ἀρχάς, § 14. 4.

5. γραμματεία: i.e. city-clerk, elected by the people, acting as comptroller of the λογισταί and reporting to the assembly. The clerk of the λογισταί cannot be meant, for he would not be mentioned before the λογισταί.



ἀρχάς. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναγνώσεται.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

- 16 Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃς ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζει οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔρχον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν καὶ  
5 ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ παράνομα γεγραφὼς τοσούτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. χρὴ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ  
10 τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίῃ ὁ νόμος ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρὴ διδόναι τὴν ψήφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντία.

6. ὅτι δὲ λέγω: formula in the orators for introducing documentary evidence: equiv. to ἵνα δ' εἰδῇτε ὅτι λέγω. Cf. §§ 22, 184, 187.

7. ἀναγνώσεται: sc. ὁ γραμματεὺς, the clerk of the court. Cf. § 124 *fin.* For the omission of the subj., cf. Xen. An. i. 2. 17.

§ 16. 1. τοίνυν: introduces a logical conclusion. Cf. §§ 23, 40, 48; i. 51, 89; ii. 20, 56, 85, 91, 171. More commonly used to introduce a new line of thought. Cf. §§ 19, 27, 32, 77; i. 13, 53, 101, 106, 150; ii. 128. Sometimes simply to continue a narrative. Cf. §§ 69, 94; i. 145, 151; ii. 47, 55, 108.

3. ὑμέτερον ἔργον κτλ.: cf. i. 176, ὑμέτερον δ' ἔργον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιτετάχθαι, which contains the same military metaphor.

5. κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σοφιστὴν: cf. § 200. 7, κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον

καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων. § 172. 10, οὗτοσι δὲ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης. i. 119, ὁ περιττὸς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Δημοσθένης. 125, σοφιστοῦ. 164, ὁ σοφὸς Βάταλος. Demosthenes' *sophistical δεινότης* is in each case intended. The orators praise the skill of an antagonist with the purpose of putting the hearers on their guard. i. 175 is an interesting case of this device.

6. ῥήμασι: phrases. Cf. §§ 92, 202. See on § 72 *in*.

9-12: a fine sentiment, closing this topic with éclat, giving the speaker an opportunity for an effective pause. See on § 6 *fin.* The dramatic form by which the rebuke administered to Demosthenes is put into the mouths of the jurors, as in § 23, is very effective. The whole section is in Aeschines' best manner. He is not contented with disputing his antagonist's position in regard to the meaning of the

- 17 Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένους, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. λέξει γὰρ οὕτως· “τειχοποιός εἰμι, ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ’ ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασται. τίνος οὖν εἰμι 5 ὑπεύθυνος; εἰ μὴ τις ἐστὶν εὐνοίας εὐθυνα.” πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῶν συμφέροντα. ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὖσα καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων.

word ἀρχή (λῆσις κατ’ ἀνατροπήν). He puts the law and his antagonist in sharp contrast, to show the wanton lawlessness of the men who could attempt such an evasion. This constitutes ἀνατροπή μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς.

c) *Refutation of the second supposed evasion of the defendant, viz. that Demosthenes, having expended his own money in the public service, was therefore not ὑπεύθυνος.* §§ 17–23.

§ 17. 1. ἄφυκτον λόγον: a reference to the sophistical art and confidence of Demosthenes. Cf. Plato *Euthyd.* 276 e, where the sophist says, πάντα τοιαῦτα ἡμεῖς ἐρωτῶμεν ἄφυκτα. — ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης: as Demosthenes calls it, sc. ἄφυκτον εἶναι. Prob. a genuine case of anticipation of the argument actually used in Dem. xviii. 111 ff. The case had been talked over so much in the six years during which it had been pending, that each orator knew his opponent’s line of argument. See *Introd.* § 28.

2. λέξει οὕτως: the object of introducing the antagonist as speaking is not merely to lend vividness to the argument, but also to let him show an offensive boldness. It is a phase of ἡθοποιία.

3. εἰμί: for tense, see on § 14.

7.—ἐπιδέδωκα: have given over and above the public appropriation.—μνᾶς ἑκατὸν: no account should be taken of the spurious document in Dem. xviii. 118, acc. to which Dem. is said to have given three talents.

4. μείζον: i.e. more extensive than the ψήφισμα demanded.

5. πρὸς δὴ: a resumption of πρὸς δὲ δὴ, line 1.

7. ἀρχαία καὶ τηλικαύτῃ: not mere laudatory epithets. “Here is a state that has innumerable magistrates, and yet the principle of universal accountability has been in existence from time out of mind.” The size and antiquity of Athens are a frequent boast with the orators. Cf. Isocr. iv. 23, ὁμολογεῖται τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτάτην εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστοτάτην. X. 35, καὶ τὴν πόλιν σποράδην καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκοῦσαν εἰς ταύτην συναγαγὼν τηλικαύτην ἐποίησεν (sc. Theseus), ὥστ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων εἶναι. Attic writers prefer τηλικούτος to τοσοούτος in connection with μέγεθος. Cf. § 77. 1. Dem. ix. 67, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος.



18 διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων, οἷον τοὺς  
 ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος,  
 καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα,  
 τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ  
 19 τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύ-  
 νους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίζοντας  
 οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολλὰ μὲν ὑφαίρουμένους βρα-  
 χέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀπο-  
 δίδοντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς

§ 18. 1. ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων: by cases where you would least expect it. — οἷον: for instance.

3. καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα: individually and collectively.

4. τοὺς τὰ γέρα λαμβάνοντας: the explanation of ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων. γέρα = ἱερώσυνα, perquisites. In some cases these were by no means contemptible. See Schömann, I. p. 428. Since in many cases the *δερματικόν* fell to the state (see Böckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, Bk. III. c. vii. fin.), the main object of the investigation might be to ascertain whether the priest had purloined any of it. — τὰς εὐχὰς: cf. i. 23, ἐπειδὴν τὸ καθάρσιον περιενεχθῆ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὰς πατρὸς εὐχὰς εἴρηται.

6. τὰ γένη: appos. to ἱερεῖς. Priest-corporations or families in distinction from individuals: i.e. a repetition of the thought of line 3. The Eumolpidae claimed descent from the mythical son of Poseidon or of Triptolemus, Eumolpus, who after a victory established the Eleusinian mysteries. The Ceryces claimed descent from Ceryx, a son of Eumolpus, but wor-

shipped Hermes also as ancestor. Cf. Paus. i. 38. 3.

§ 19. 1. πάλιν: furthermore. Cf. §§ 20, 21; i. 139, 152, 157, 162. Dem. xxi. 33, 44, 64, 141.

2. οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίζοντας: an exaggeration, inasmuch as the trierarchs, at this time, received from the state not only the ship and tackle, but also the pay for the crew. ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων would hardly apply to this case. See Schömann, I. p. 426; Böckh, Bk. IV. c. xi.

3. οὐδέ: neg. extending to the four following concessive parties, of which two (ὑφαίρουμένους and φάσκοντας) might be taken as subord. to the other two. And although they do not, while filching much, apply little, and while affirming that they are making you a present, merely give you back your own. Abundance of participles is characteristic of Aeschines. Cf. § 149.

4. κατατιθέντας: expend. Cf. § 23. 8, κατέθηκας. — ἐπιδιδόναι: bitter thrust at Demosthenes. Cf. § 17. 3. — ἀποδιδόντας: restoring. See on ἀποδίδωσι, § 83. 5.

πατρώας ουσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φιλοτιμίαν. οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριήραρχοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστη-  
 20ρίων ἔρχεται ψῆφον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας, τὸν αἰὲ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κύριον ἄγων ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ψῆφον. οὐκ

6. εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν: for *lavish outlay upon you*. This φιλοτιμία of the trierarchs, conspicuous in the Peloponnesian war (cf. Thuc. vi. 31), was in the time of Demosthenes pretty nearly a thing of the past. The trierarchy was a duty which nearly all sought to shirk. For a conspicuous exception, cf. [Dem.] LI. 5, τὰ σκευὴ τοίνυν, ὅσα δὲ παρέχειν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τριηράρχοις, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνήλωσα καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἔλαβον οὐδέν.—ἀνηλωκότας: obs. the unusual position, by which the emphasis is reserved for φιλοτιμίαν.

8. ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ψῆφον: the chief auditing board, λογισταί (see on § 11. 10), in case of a discovered deficit, instituted a suit against the delinquent; and, even in case of a favorable issue of their auditing, were wont to appear in the general assembly of Heliasts, with the magistrate rendering the account, and invite any man who wished to protest against its final ratification. Cf. § 23. 3 ff. Dem. xviii. 117, εἴτα παρῶν, ὅτε με εἰσηγόν οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγορεῖς; See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* pp. 259 ff.; Schömann, I. pp. 407 ff.

9. ἔρχεται: in agreement with the nearest subj. Cf. Dem. iii. 4, πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θαρβύων γυγνομένων. G. 135, n. 1; H. 607.

§ 20. 1. τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ: this ancient council, established by Solon with powers very similar to those of the Ephors at Sparta, of general oversight of the constitution and the morals of the magistrates and people (see Schömann, I. p. 332), had had a career very different from that of the Ephors. From the great curtailing of its powers by Pericles and Ephialtes dates perhaps its accountability. See Böekh, Bk. II. c. viii. Along with the loss of its powers, it had abated no whit of its ancient gravity (cf. τὸν αἰὲ σκυθρωπὸν), which was now about all it had left to distinguish it. Cf. the interesting narrative, I. 81-84. See Schömann, I. p. 346, and on § 51. 4.

3. τὸν σκυθρωπὸν: see App. There is no reference to an affected or exaggerated gravity, as in *Er. Matth.* vi. 16. Aeschines here, as elsewhere, speaks of this council in terms of great respect. Cf. i. 92, διατελεῖ τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον εὐδοκιμοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει.—τῶν μεγίστων κύριον: an overstatement for this period.

4 f. οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται κτλ.: it is going to be crowned, then, is it not? Rhetorical questions, so common in Demosthenes' public harangues, are more sparingly used by Aeschines. Cf. §§ 21, 174 f., 178, 182, 186, 197, etc.



5 ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριον αὐτοῖς. οὐκ ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἐάν τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ κολάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι. πάλιν τὴν βουλήν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ὑπεύθυ-  
 21 νον πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει· “ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον,” φησὶ “μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.” ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις, ὅτι ἤρξα μὴ ἀποδημήσω; ἵνα γε  
 5 μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμῶ

5 f. οὐδὲ γάρ: neg. corresponding to καὶ γάρ in affirmative clauses, with ellipsis of οὐ στεφανωθήσεται, the answer to the question. See Kr. Spr. 69, 32, 21. Cf. Plato *Meno*, 80 e, λέγεις, ὡς οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι ζητεῖν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ὃ οἶδεν οὔτε ὃ μὴ οἶδεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν γ' ὃ οἶδε ζητοῖ· οἶδε γάρ, οὔτε ὃ μὴ οἶδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδεν ὅτι ζητήσει.

6. πάτριον: word chosen to emphasize the Areopagites' regard for tradition and precedent. Cf. I. 83, ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται οὔτε κατηγοροῦμεν τιμάρχου οὔτε ἀπολογούμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν πάτριον. The crowning of the Areopagites was prohibited by the mere fact that they were life-magistrates, and so had no sooner accounted for one year's doings than they were already responsible for those of the ensuing year.

7 f. *I.e.* they have ambition enough, but it shows itself in this way; they are not contented if one of their members commits no crime, but they punish him if he makes a mistake.

9. τρυφῶσι: put on airs. Cf. Dem. IX. 4. συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι. — τοὺς πεντακοσίους: the senate administered the greater part of the

state's affairs, particularly its finance. They had the initiative in everything, deciding what should be brought before the assembly. See Schömann, I. pp. 371 ff.; Böckh, Bk. II. cc. 1., III.

§ 21. 2. τῶν νόμων: *i.e.* the laws concerning the accountability of magistrates.

3. ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον: magistrate liable to be called to account. Cf. § 31. 6. See on ἀρχάς, § 14. 4.

3. μὴ ἀποδημεῖν: for inf. in leading clauses in laws *etc.*, see GMT. 103. — ὦ Ἡράκλεις: cf. Suid. s.v. Ἡράκλεις, σχετλιαστικὴ φωνή. With this oath the orator gives his speech a popular coloring. Cf. I. 49. Dem. ix. 31.

4. μὴ ἀποδημήσω: οὐκ would be expected but for the fact that the phrase is an indignant taking up of the clause in the law μὴ ἀποδημεῖν, what! not go out of the country? — ἵνα γέ: that at any rate.

5. πράξεις: political interests. One who steals the funds of the state does it a less injury than he who betrays its secrets to the enemy as Alcibiades did (Thuc. vi. 91). Cf. Dem. xix. 133, Φιλίππος ἐκ πολέμου ποιοῦμενος εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν πολλοῦν τὰς πράξεις ἐώνεϊτο.

χρήσῃ. πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔα τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν  
οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ' ἐκποιήτον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ  
διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνε-  
χურάζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως  
22 ἂν λόγον ἀποδώσι τῇ πόλει. ναὶ ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος  
ὃς οὐτ' εἴληφεν οὐδὲν τῶν δημοσίων οὐτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσ-  
ῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν  
κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς. καὶ πῶς ὁ γε μηδὲν  
5 λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ πόλει; αὐτὸς 57  
ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἅ χρὴ γράφειν· κελεύει  
γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν ὅτι "οὐτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς  
πόλεως οὐτ' ἀνήλωσα." ἀνέυθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζήτητον οὐδέν  
ἔστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκού-  
10 σατε τῶν νόμων.

6. οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν: prob. a whole-sale dedication of property to escape just claims, not a pretended dedication like that by which the Jews were wont to escape supporting dependent parents. Cf. *Ev. Matth.* xv. 5. For a case of dedication of considerable property by a will, see Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 169 ff.

7. ἐκποιήτον γενέσθαι: a father could give his own son, provided he was free-born, to any Athenian citizen for adoption. The son was called ἐκποιήτος with reference to his own father, and εἰσποιήτος with reference to his adoptive father. See Meier and Schömann, *Alt. Proc.* p. 541. The law provided that the adoption of a rich man's son by a poor man should not be used to deprive the state of the security which the rich man's estate gave it in case his son proved a defaulter.

8. διαθέσθαι: dispose of. Cf. *Isocr.* iv. 42, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὐσης τὰ μὲν ἔπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι τὰ δ' ὀπόθει

εἰσαγαγέσθαι. — ἐνεχურάζει: takes in pledge.

§ 22. 1. ναὶ ἀλλ': introducing an objection of the opponent or of a listener. Cf. §§ 28, 84, 168. In Aeschines' other two orations this formula does not occur, natural as it would have been at transitions like i. 109, 113, 125. Similar is Dem. xviii. 251, ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν.

7. ὅτι: before a direct quot. Cf. § 120. 1. See *Am. Jour. of Phil.* V. p. 223.

8. ἀνέυθυνον: opp. to ὑπεύθυνος, as in Hdt. iii. 80. Thuc. iii. 43. 4. On the contrary § 17. 8, ἀνυπεύθυνος used pers. Plato has only ἀνυπεύθυνος always joined with ἀρχή or ἄρχων. Aristotle uses both forms. Cf. *Pol.* ii. 9. 26, iv. 4. 24. — οὐδέν: a more sweeping statement than οὐδεὶς.

9. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω: see on § 15. 6. — αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων: the speaker withdraws his personality, and



## NOMOI.

- 23 Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “οὐκ οὖν ἔχρῃν σε, ὦ Δημόσθενης, εἶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρύξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ  
 5 ἔννομον κήρυγμα τουτί· τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας· μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μὴδὲ ἐξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν,  
 10 μὴδ’ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων ἀλλ’ ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.”

lets the laws plead the case for him. See on § 14. 1. Cf. § 37. 1. The same effect has Shak. *Julius Caesar*, iii. 2,

‘Show you sweet Caesar’s wounds, poor dumb mouths,  
 And bid them speak for me.’

§ 23. 1. *θρασύνεται*: makes an offensive exhibition of *θράσος*. Cf. Plato *Lach.* 197 b, ἃ σὺ καλεῖς ἀνδρεία, ἐγὼ θρασέα καλῶ. Dem. xviii. 136, τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν βέοντι καθ’ ὁμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα.

3. *ἔχρῃν σε εἶσαι*: a natural interpretation would be, *ought you not to have allowed?* For this signification of the aor. with the impf. of a verb of obligation, see G. 222, κ. 2 fin.; GMT. 49, 2, κ. 3 a. But in view of *ἔασον* (5), which implies that there is still an opportunity for an account, the proper interpretation would seem to be, *ought you not to allow?* Both expressions refer to present time, and the point of view of the whole paragraph is 336 B.C., while Demosthenes was still a magistrate. See *Introd.* § 28.

4. *τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα* κτλ.: see on § 19. 8. — *πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον*: see

on τὰ μέτρια καὶ συνήθη, § 1. 3. The epithets, of course, have the weight of an argument.

6. *ἀμφισβητῆσαι*: maintain in opposition to you.

7. *ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις* κτλ.: “that to say nothing of your gifts, you still hold some of the funds of the city given you for the work on the walls.”

8. *κατέθηκας*: see on § 19. 4. — *μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν*: do not grab honor. The violence of Demosthenes is hit off.

9. *τῶν δικαστῶν*: gen. of separation. — *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν*: added to make a vivid picture.

10. *μὴδ’ ἔμπροσθεν* κτλ.: perhaps a turning upon Demosthenes of his utterance (iv. 39) about the true statesman being always *ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πραγμάτων*. — *ταῦτα*: this course of conduct; *τοῦτο* would be this principle.

11. *ὀρθοὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν*: see on τὰ μέτρια καὶ συνήθη, § 1. 3, and on § 8. 14.

A simple reference to the trierarchy would have been an adequate refuta-

- 24 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις ἃς οὗτοι προ-  
 φασιοῦνται μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν  
 ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχὴν ἄρχων δὲ  
 5 τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἄρχων τούτων  
 λόγον ὑμῶν οὐδ' εὐθύνας δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσο-  
 μαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. καὶ  
 μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ  
 ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημο-  
 10 σθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

tion (ἐκ παραδείγματος) of the ἀφυκτος λόγος. But Aeschines is not contented with this. He chooses rather to enlarge on the importance of the principle against which the excuse is arrayed, making his own effort appear as put forth for the salvation of the state, closing the discussion of the topic, as usual, with a ringing sentiment. See on § 16. 9-12. The habit of closing a topic with such a sentence may have been suggested to Aeschines by stage acquaintance with Euripides, who employs it with effect. Cf. Eur. Med. 409, 520, 575.

d) Documentary evidence of Demosthenes' accountability as manager of the Theoric Fund at the time when Ctesiphon brought forward his bill. § 24.

§ 24. 1. οὗτοι: i.e. Demosthenes and Ctesiphon.

2. μέχρι δεῦρο: Aeschines is very careful to let the audience know how far he has got on with his argument. Cf. §§ 9, 49.

3. ὅθ' οὗτος κτλ.: spoken from the standpoint of 330 B.C. See Introd. § 28. At this time, Demosthenes had passed the required test (cf. Dem. XVIII. 117, δέδωκε γ' εὐθύνας ἐκείνων),

which fact did not, however, alter the illegality of Ctesiphon's original bill. If, as is prob. (see Introd. § 24), the trial was brought on by a renewal of Ctesiphon's bill, this part of the argument is as grossly unfair as the preceding, with its suggestions of speculation.

4. ἄρχων: Aeschines wishes now to leave no room for Demosthenes' subterfuge referred to in §§ 13 ff., and seems to think the mere repetition of the words ἀρχων and ἀρχήν adds to the strength of his case.—τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχήν: the method in which this item is introduced shows that it was an afterthought; the τειχοποιὶς was a magistracy only by a sophistical construction of the law (see on § 15. 2, ἀρχεῖν), but in the six years while the case was pending, Aeschines has be- thought himself that Demosthenes was also ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, a magistrate beyond question, and works it unskillfully into his new draft of the oration. See Introd. § 28. Blass, III. 2, p. 185. For the form, cf. Dem. VIII. 76; IX. 2, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι. For the nature of the magistracy, see Schömann, I. p. 439, and on § 25. 8 f.

8. ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος: Phrynichus was archon Ol. 110, 4, 337-6 B.C.,



## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴδὲν ἐτι περαιτέρω δείξαιμι, δικαίως ἂν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἶρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

- 25 Πρώτερον μὲν τοῖνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὅς καθ' ἑκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν, πρὶν τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι, τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχὴν ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεωρίων τ' ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ σκευοθήκην ὠκοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν

Demosthenes' term of service; his election, however, would prob. fall in the preceding Attic year while Chaerondas was archon. See Schäfer, III. p. 75.

13 f. οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμὴ κτλ.: see on 22. 9.

e) *The importance of this magistracy.* §§ 25, 26.

§ 25. 1. ἀντιγραφεὺς: sc. τῆς διοικήσεως, comptroller of the treasury. See Böckh, II. c. VIII. Cf. Harpocr. s.v. ἀντιγραφεὺς: διττοί (i.e. two principal) δ' ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος, ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ.

2. τῇ πόλει: dat. of possession. — πρυτανείαν: the tenth of the year, during which each tribal delegation acted as a committee representing the βουλῇ.

4. Εὐβουλον: the great opponent of Demosthenes' foreign policy. As state treasurer (see Introd. § 8) during a period of sixteen years (354–338 B.C.), in which fall all Demosthenes' Philippic orations, he appropri-

ated for public buildings and festivals the revenues which Demosthenes would have converted into the sinews of war. See Schäfer, I. pp. 170 ff.

5. πρὶν τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι: it seems strange that Hegemon, who always appears in league with Demosthenes' enemies, should have worked for a reform which Demosthenes so earnestly desired. Schäfer (I. p. 189) thinks that Demosthenes' reforms, 340–339 B.C., had already put an end to the excessive functions of the overseers of the Theoric Fund, and that Hegemon's law was rather an attempt to counteract those reforms.

7. τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν: officers who took charge of moneys received and assigned them to the different departments. They were controlled by the ἀντιγραφεῖς. Schömann, I. p. 417. — καὶ νεωρίων κτλ.: see App.

8 f. καὶ σχεδὸν κτλ.: prob. characteristic exaggeration. Cf. § 20. 3, τῶν μεγίστων κύριον. § 26. 8, 212. 7. The separate offices here enumerated were, with the possible exception of the ἀντιγραφεῖς, prob. not abrogated;

26 ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐ-  
τῶν οὐδ' ἐπιτιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι  
βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, εἴαν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς  
ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ᾗ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἐὰ πρὶν ἂν λόγον  
5 καὶ εὐθύνας δῶ στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην  
τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ  
ᾤκησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

27 Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν ὅθ'  
οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διε-  
χειρίζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχον-  
τες, τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην μάρτυρα παρέξομαι.

but the treasurer (δ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, and ten managers of the Theoric Fund usurped their functions, and superintended all receipts and disbursements. The mention of docks and arsenal in connection with the θεωρικὴ ἀρχή is surprising; but Eubulus aimed not only to increase the Theoric Fund, but to have a surplus for public buildings and other improvements. Cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 406. (Philochor. 135) Λυσιστράτης Ἀχαρνεύς (339 B.C.): ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἔργα τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην ἀνεβάλλοντο διὰ τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Φίλιππον, τὰ δὲ χρήματα πάντ' ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι στρατιωτικὰ Δημοσθένους γράψαντος. What Demosthenes thought of Eubulus' internal improvements is seen in Dem. III. 29, καὶ κρήνας καὶ λήρους.

§ 26. 1. οὐ κατηγορῶν: a censure of Demosthenes and his party for their continued carping at these officials, or rather at the financial system of Eubulus, of which they were a part.

3. βούλομαι: instead of βουλόμενος for emphasis. See on ἐξεῖναι, § 10. 8.

6. ἀπάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα: ob-

vious and almost ludicrous hyperbole. See on §§ 24. 4 and 25. 8.

f) Documentary evidence of Demosthenes' accountability as τειχοποιός at the time of Otesiphon's bill. § 27.

§ 27. 3. ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε: was imposing fines.

4. τούτων ὑμῖν κτλ.: Demosthenes' bill by which he is made to bear witness against himself, prob. contained a simple proposal that the tribes choose τειχοποιοί (line 9). Aeschines has already endeavored to show that this office is an ἀρχή (see on ἔρχειν, § 15. 2), and now takes an opportunity to remind his hearers of the functions of magistrates, such as handling public moneys and imposing fines. The former was generally implied in a magistracy, the latter was the prerogative of every magistrate who possessed the ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου, § 14. 10. Cf. Lys. xxx. 3, ἐπιβαλόντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ εἰσαγόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον οὐκ ἠθέλησε παραδοῦναι τοὺς νόμους. The maximum fine which each magistrate could impose without the sentence of a Heliastic court was fixed by law. See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 49.



5 ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος θαρρηλιῶνος δευτέρα φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρα ἱσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων τῶν περὶ τὰ  
10 τείχη καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἢ ἡ πόλις ἔχοι ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. καὶ μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

5. Χαιρώνδου: see on § 24. 8.—*ἄρχοντος*: i.e. Archon Eponymus, different from *ἄρχοντες*, line 3.—*θαρρηλιῶνος*: the eleventh month of the Attic year, which usually began with the first new moon after the summer solstice. See Lübker, s.v. *Jahr*. For fuller discussion with exact dates, see Müller, *Handb. der klass. Alt.* I. pp. 567–581.—*δευτέρα φθίνοντος*: the month was divided into three decades. After the first day of the month, which was *νουμηνία*, the days up to the tenth were designated successively as second, third, etc., *ἱσταμένου μηνός*, those from the tenth to the twentieth by the same ordinals with the addition of *ἐπὶ δέκα* or *μεσοῦντος μηνός*, while for the last nine or ten days of the month the counting was in Roman fashion, reversed. The last day but one was *δευτέρα φθίνοντος*, the one before that *τρίτῃ φθίνοντος*, and so on. Demosthenes' bill was brought forward on the 29th of Thargelion, which in this year was a full month of 30 days. The alternating months of 29 days (*κοῖλοι μήνες*) had no *δευτέρα φθίνοντος*. See Müller, *Handb. der klass. Alt.* I. p. 564f. In the same Attic year, the archonship of Chaerondas, Ol. 110, 3 (328–7 B.C.) had occurred the battle of Chaeronea (on the 7th of Metageitnion, the second month of the year)

and the immediately following peace with Philip. Demosthenes' year of office was from July 337 to July 336, and Ctesiphon's bill was prob. brought forward in March 336, just before the great Dionysia. See Introd. § 23.

6. *ἐκκλησίας οὔσης*: gen. abs. of time.—*ἀγοράν*: no longer as in Hom., a general assembly, in which sense it had been supplanted by *ἐκκλησία*, but an assembly of each tribe. The pl. *ἀγοραί* which we should expect here was rarely used.

7. *σκιροφοριῶνος*: the twelfth Attic month. The proposed tribal meetings, then, were to be held after an interval of only three days.

8. *ἐκάστης*: part. gen.

9. *τῶν ἔργων τῶν περὶ τὰ τείχη*: even before the peace with Philip, Demosthenes had succeeded in getting a measure passed to repair the fortifications of the city. Cf. Dem. xviii. 248, *μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς αἱ τὰ φρού, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγγίνετο*.

10. *ταμίας*: i.e. subordinate treasurers attached to magistrates like *τειχοποιοί*, *οδοποιοί*, *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*, etc., dependent on the state treasurer (*ὁ ταμίης*). See on *Εὐβουλον*, § 25. 4. See Böckh, Bk. II. c. vi.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

28      Ναὶ ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθὺς ὡς οὗτ'  
     ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὗτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. καὶ  
     περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιή-  
     σονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ  
     5 λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν 58  
 29 προειπεῖν βούλομαι. ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν  
     περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶδη τρία, ὧν ἓν μὲν καὶ φανερώτατον οἱ  
     κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι  
     διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας,  
     5 τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἰ-  
     ρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι καὶ τούτους ἄρ-  
 30 χεῖν δοκιμασθέντας. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφέλῃ τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
     δήμου κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας,  
     καταλείπονται οὗς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττὺς καὶ οἱ δῆμοι

— καὶ μᾶλα ὀρθῶς: i.e. it was well that the matter should originate in the ἐκκλησία, for thus the accountability of the commissioners to the people would be clear.

g) *Second refutation of the antagonist's excuse that the τειχοποιός was not a regular magistrate.* §§ 28-30.

This is the most unfortunate part of the oration, awkwardly expressed in itself, and obstructing the otherwise clear order. A mere repetition of §§ 13-16, it falls particularly flat, as Demosthenes does not touch the point at all in his reply. §§ 29, 30 seem to mean, "other persons are recognized as ἄρχοντες besides οἱ κληρωτοὶ and οἱ χειροτονητοὶ, and when we look for these other persons we find them just such tribal officers as the τειχοποιοί." The argument is obscured by the elaborate threefold division of

magistrates and the pompous subtraction. See *Introd.* § 29.

§ 28, 1. Ναὶ ἀλλά: see on § 22, 1. — ἀντιδιαπλέκει: makes this tortuous reply. A metaphor from wrestling.

5. ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν: perhaps sc. τῶν νόμων, although the transition from sing. to pl. is rather violent.

§ 29, 1 f. τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς: curious circumlocution for ἀρχῶν or ἀρχόντων.

3 ff. ὅσοι τι κτλ.: cf. § 14, 9 ff.

6. ἄρχειν: see on ἄρχειν, § 15, 2.

§ 30, 1. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφέλῃ: the same method of 'elimination by subtraction' is employed in § 45.

3. αἱ τριττὺς: these were originally thirds of the four Ionic tribes. Cf. *Harpocr.* s.v. τριττός: τριττός ἐστι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς· αὕτη γὰρ διήρηται εἰς τρία μέρη, τριττός καὶ ἔθνη καὶ φρατρίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. 'This division

ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰρῶνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν.  
 5 τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται, ὅταν ὥσπερ νῦν ἐπιταχθῇ τι ταῖς  
 φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι.  
 ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

## NOMOI.

- 31 Ἀναμνησθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ  
 μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκι-  
 μασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονίς φυλὴ ἄρ-  
 χοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς  
 5 διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἔτε-  
 ρος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἄρχῃν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφα-  
 νοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι,  
 ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν οὐ προσ-

about which next to nothing is known, was probably retained' (at the time of Cleisthenes' reorganization of the state into ten tribes and one hundred demes) 'for financial and administrative purposes.' Woolsey. See Schömann, I. p. 371. See App. — δῆμοι: demes.

4. αἰρῶνται: the prop. word for the election of tribal officers (*αἰρετοί*, § 29. 5), contrasted with *λαγχάνειν*: cf. *χειροτονεῖν*, § 28. 2. See on *αἰρετός*, § 13. 3.

5. νῦν: in the case before us.

The laws which are now read appear to be the same as those read just after § 15.

h) *Recapitulation*. § 31. "The law predicates *ἄρχειν* of the tribal officers: Demosthenes is a tribal officer. The law forbids the crowning of an *ἄρχων* before he has passed his *εἰθυναί*. Ctesiphon has violated this law. The case is complete."

§ 31. 3. ἄρχοντα: Aeschines still

clings to this word as for his life. See on *ἄρχων*, § 24. 4. This over-anxious insistence upon the word gives peculiar point to the reply, Dem. XVIII. 112, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ἂν τύχῃ.

4. ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως: from the general treasury.

5. ἔχει: see Introd. § 28. — μικροῦ δεῖν: almost. Abs. inf. G. 208; II. 956. Though the amount received by Demosthenes is prob. given with approximate correctness, since Aeschines would not allow the defence to catch him in a lie on such a point, yet it would not do to infer that each of the ten *τειχοποιοί* received nearly ten talents. — ἕτερος νόμος: cf. § 11. 1 ff.

8. ὁ ῥήτωρ: perhaps maliciously spoken, as also § 242. 3, οὐ γὰρ δὴ που τοῦτο γε σκῆψαι, ὥς οὐ δυνατὸς εἰ λέγειν, for Ctesiphon spoke so rarely in the assembly that he hoped to pass for an *ιδιώτης*. Cf. § 214. 2. See on *ιδιώτης*, § 3. 10.

θεῖς "ἐπειδὰν δῶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας," ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξελέγχω  
10 τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφισμα-  
τα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις  
περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παράνομα γεγρα-  
φότα;

32 Ὡς τοῖνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανό-  
μως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς  
διδάξω. ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μὲν τινα  
στεφανοὶ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι,  
5 ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. καὶ  
μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

## ΝΟΜΟΣ.

33 Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς  
ἔχει. οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα

9. ἐξελέγχω τὸ παράνομον: *I am proving the illegality.* The pf. might have been expected.

11. ἀντιδίκους: cf. § 27. 4.

Aeschines' proof on the first count in the indictment is generally conceded to be complete. Perhaps it is somewhat overdone. The reply, Dem. XVIII. 110-119, is unsatisfactory. How weak Demosthenes himself felt Ctesiphon's case to be, in a legal point of view, is seen by his desire to jump the legal discussion altogether, and make his own political merit the paramount and, in fact, exclusive question of the trial. The master sophism of the reply is contained in Dem. XVIII. 58, τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα "ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἕξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή. See App.

Second παράνομον: *the proclamation in the theatre, proposed in Ctesiphon's bill, is contrary to existing laws.* §§ 32-48.

a) *The law and its true significance contrasted with the proposal.* §§ 32-34.

§ 32. 1. τοῖνυν: transition particle. See on § 16. 1. — ἀνάρρησιν: *the public proclamation by the herald.* The corresponding verb forms are ἀναγορεύω, ἀνερῶ, ἀνείπον, ἀνείρηκα, ἀνερρήθην.

5. ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ: *the repetition of these words §§ 34, 48 makes it certain that they are a clause of the law, and not, as some suppose, words of the speaker.*

§ 33. 1. καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει: *the same phrase with which the other principal law contravened by Ctesiphon's bill is praised, § 11. 2.* When the orators cite a law in their favor, they like to emphasize its reasonableness and excellence, adding the *ratio legis*. Cf. I. 11, 14, 22, 24, 26, 28-30.



σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ  
τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν  
5 ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ  
Κτησιφῶν πῶς; ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

34 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης  
κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνα-  
κηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι  
δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νό-  
5 μους μόνον ὑπερβᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών,  
οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν γιγνο-  
μένων, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλ-

3. τοὺς ἔξωθεν: i.e. the great number of strangers who come to Athens at the time of the Great Dionysia.—  
ἀγαπᾶν: cf. ἀγαπᾶσθαι, § 20. 7.

4. ἐργολαβεῖν: play the contractor, i.e. make profit. Schol., ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανοῦσθαι ἔχη ἐαυτῷ τοὺς παρέχοντας τὰ χρήματα, ὡς δυνατὴ καὶ τιμωμένῳ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Aeschines uses the word of the gains of sophists and rhetoricians, I. 173, II. 112. Cf. § 150. 2, ἐνεργολαβεῖν.

6. πῶς: at the end of the clause, balanced thus more conspicuously with οὕτως. Cf. Dem. XXI. 27, ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν νόμον τίθει οὕτως, ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων πῶς;

§ 34. 2. ἐν Πυκνί: a specification of vital importance to Aeschines, excluding the idea of an ἐκκλησία held ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.—ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: time, = ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, line 6. The usual combination, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, is seen in Dem. XIX. 234.

3. ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ: see on § 32. 5.

4. οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον κτλ.: the only law in question is one with ref-

erence to place (τόπος). A single illegality is by this artificial amplification made to appear as two.

6. τραγῳδῶν γιγνομένων: τραγῳδός = τραγῳδία, a current metonymy, like gladiatoribus for ludis gladiatoribus. Cf. §§ 41, 154. Dem. V. 7, τραγῳδοὺς ἰδεάσασθε.

7 f. Demosthenes' reply (§ 120), that it makes no difference to the receiver of the crown where it is conferred, is manifestly untrue.

b) The existence of another law allowing, as the defendants will claim, the proclamation in the theatre, would imply an absurd contradiction in the constitution. §§ 35-40.

The passage, §§ 35-48, is, like §§ 28-30, very labored and unfortunate. It has the appearance of being added on the publication of the speech, as a reply to Dem. XVIII. 121, πλὴν ἐάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται. See Introd. § 28. It would have produced a better oratorical effect to let discussion as to the place of proclamation rest at the close of § 34.

35 λήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. οὕτω  
 τούνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ  
 Δημοσθένους ἐποίει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις· ἅς ἐγὼ δηλώσω  
 καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἑξαπατηθέντες. οὗτοι  
 5 γάρ, ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας,  
 οὐχ ἔξουσιν λέγειν, μετοίσουσιν δὲ εἰς ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διο-  
 νυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ  
 36 κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ παρέξονται νόμον  
 οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέξουσιν ὥς εἰσὶ  
 τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἰς  
 μὲν, ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέξομαι, διαρρηδὴν ἀπαγορεύων τὸν  
 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς  
 ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τού-  
 τῳ, τὸν δεδοκότα ἔξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ  
 στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, εἰς ἣν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος·  
 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησι-  
 37 φῶντα. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συν-  
 ηγόρους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ 59  
 σπουδάζων παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό

§ 35. 2. γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς: the former partic. denotes a present state, the latter a single act prior to the action of the principal verb.

3. ἐποίει: a figure derived from a siege. Cf. such phrases as μηχανὰς τῷ τειχίσματι ἐπιφέρειν.

4. λάθητε ἑξαπατηθέντες: cf. § 11. 5.

7. μετοίσουσιν: pervert. Cf. §§ 142, 193, 220. — τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον: Demosthenes (xviii. 121) does refer to this law, not calling it by this name.

8. καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινί: Demosthenes (l.c.) makes the same complaint against Aeschines, with some show of fairness, if §§ 35-

48 of this oration were not spoken. The appending of three successive clauses with καὶ is a mark of carelessness. See on § 8. fin.

§ 36. 8. τραγωδοῖς: dat. of time = τραγῳδῶν γιγνομένων, § 34. 6. — εἰς ἣν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος: on this clause of the law Demosthenes (§ 121) rests his case.

§ 37. 1. συνηγόρους: pred. "I will let your laws plead my case." See on § 22. 9.

2. ὅπερ διατελῶ κτλ.: a plain enunciation of the principle followed by Aeschines with so much skill.

3. παρὰ: in the whole course of. Cf. § 143. 8.



ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς  
 5 τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀνα-  
 γεγράφθαι καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλ-  
 λήλοισι, τί ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν,  
 ἐν ᾗ ταῦτ' ἀντιτίθενται οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν;  
 38 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς τοσαύ-  
 τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὐτ' ἡμέλῃται περὶ  
 τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατα-  
 στήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρρηδὴν προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις  
 5 καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νό-

4. παραδέδυκεν: *has crept in*: metaph-  
 orical, like insinuate. Cf. Dem.  
 xviii. 79, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος εἰς Πελο-  
 πόνησον παρεδύετο.

5. ἀναγεγράφθαι: technical term  
 for inscribing on tablets of stone or  
 metal, and setting up in a public place  
 the enacted laws. Cf. §§ 38, 39, 70.

6. ὑπεναντίους: for the confusion  
 arising from contradictory laws, cf.  
 Dem. xx. 91, τοσοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἐναντίοι  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖς εἰσι νόμοι, ὥστε χειροτο-  
 νεῖθ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς διαλέξαντας τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 ἐπὶ πάμπαν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον δύναται πέρας ἔχειν. The  
 whole passage, Dem. xx. 89-94, is a  
 good commentary on this discussion,  
 which in some ways appears to have  
 been suggested by that passage.

7. τί ἂν ἔτι ταύτην κτλ.: a re-  
 ductio ad absurdum like Dem.  
 xviii. 24, εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλ-  
 λήνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ  
 πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις  
 ἐπέμπετε, εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως  
 ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεκράτ-  
 ησε. The argument in each case is  
 invalid. But Athenian pride would  
 make it a perfect argumentum  
 ad hominem.

§ 38. 1. μήθ' ὑμεῖς κτλ.: the inser-

tion of such a deprecatory clause  
 gives the impression of earnestness.  
 Cf. § 128. 4. Dem. xix. 149, ὑμῶν δὲ  
 τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἦν μήτε γένοιτο  
 τοῦ λοιποῦ. It gives this impression  
 especially when put as here between  
 two indic. clauses. Cf. [Dem.] xxv.  
 86, ὅτε γὰρ ἔστι μήτε γένοιτο τοῦτο  
 οὐτ' ἐγὼ νομίζω.

2. ἀταξίαν: military metaphor. Cf.  
 παράταξιν, § 1. 2.

3. νομοθέτῃ: dat. of agent. G. 188,  
 3; H. 769. The word refers to a per-  
 son different from the νομοθέται of  
 § 39. 3. Whether it refers to Solon,  
 Cleisthenes, or a law-giver at the time  
 of the restoration of the democracy,  
 403 B.C., does not appear from this  
 passage. Aeschines' knowledge of  
 Athenian history was doubtless in-  
 accurate enough (cf. II. 172 ff.) to  
 allow him to ascribe to Solon this  
 arrangement for an annual revision  
 of the laws, which from Dem. xx. 91  
 (quoted on § 37. 6) appears to be of  
 much later origin, though of quite  
 long standing, ἐπὶ πάμπαν ἤδη χρό-  
 νον. See Schömann, I. p. 389.

4. θεσμοθέταις: see on θεσμοθέται,  
 § 13. 5.

5. διορθοῦν: revise. So a revised



μους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀνα-  
γέγραπται ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴ  
που εἰσὶ νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἐκά-  
39 στης πράξεως. καὶν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀναγεγρα-  
φότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων  
τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαντας νο-  
μοθέταις, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν  
5 διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ [καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς  
δὲ καταλείπειν], ὅπως ἂν εἴς τῃ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους  
περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. καὶ μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

edition, e.g., of the Homeric poems, is called a διόρθωσις. The process of revision, which is here obscurely described, owing to excessive brevity in § 39. 5, was prob. as follows: the thesmothetae noted contradictions in the laws and reported them in a regular assembly (ἐν τῷ δήμῳ), after posting them before the statues of the Eponymi. The assembly then decided whether a revision was necessary. If it appeared necessary, a revision-committee was appointed from the heliastae of that year, in a subsequent regular assembly. The work of this committee should have been described in § 39. 5, to make the case clear to one not already acquainted with the details. See Schömann, I. pp. 387-390. Woolsey, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. VII. pp. 435 ff.

§ 39. 2. κελεύει: sc. ὁ νομοθέτης. — πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων: a formula in which πρόσθε, the poetic form, is always retained. Cf. Dem. xxiv. 18. For the locality in the ἀγορά, cf. Paus. i. 5. 1, τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσὶ τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν

Ἀθηναίους [ὑστερον] τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί, i.e. the ten ἥρωες ἐπώνυμοι.

3. πρυτάνεις: see on § 2. 3. — ἐκκλησίαν: a regular meeting of the people. — προγράψαντας: the prytans issued a πρόγραμμα stating the object of a given ἐκκλησία. Cf. ii. 60, προγράψαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐκκλησίας δύο κατὰ τὸν νόμον. — νομοθέταις: for nomothetae; a quotation from the πρόγραμμα. Cf. Dem. xix. 185, ὅταν ᾗ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις προγεγραμμένον, εἴτ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι κτλ.

4. ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων: see on § 2. 3.

5. See App.

6. ὅπως ἂν εἴς τῃ νόμος: for ἂν, see GMT. 44, 1, n. 2; H. 882. ὅπως ἂν with the subjv. is the almost exclusive form for final clauses in Attic inscriptions of the classical period. See Meisterhans, *Gram. der attischen Inschr.* p. 212. For the subject-matter, cf. Dem. xx. 93, ἵν' εἴς τῃ περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκάστου νόμος καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας αὐτὸ τοῦτο ταράττῃ (where αὐτὸ τοῦτο means τὸ πλείους εἶναι νόμους περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως).

§ 40. 1. ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος: cf. § 164. 4; i. 116, ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος. Dem. xx. 75, ἵστε καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ λό-

## NOMOI.

- 40 Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθῆς ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κληνυμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἶμαι τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ' 5 ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἥτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκώς ἀναιρεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὁπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὴ που ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῇ 41 λέγοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς προ-

γου: a phrase formed after the analogy of τὰ παρὰ τούτων λεγόμενα. Cf. Dem. VIII. 42, οὐκ οὐκον βούλεται (sc. Φίλιππος) τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ἑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν (i.e. the freedom which you are ready to offer to all the other states).

3. ἐξ ἀνάγκης: the argument is as follows: "If there were two contradictory laws they *must* have been, in the annual revision, found to be so, and one of them must have been abrogated; neither of these laws was abrogated, therefore they may be harmonized." Inasmuch as the thesmothetae would be led to notice contradictions in the laws by *experience*, Aeschines' more obvious and effective line of proof would have been to show, if possible, that no case of a civic crown being conferred in the theatre had ever occurred. But the hyperbole of Dem. XVIII. 120 appears to rest on at least two actual cases in which Demosthenes was honored by a proclamation in the theatre, like that which Ctesiphon now proposed. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 83.

4. πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων: unless πρυτάνεων is loosely used for προέδρων, or ἐπιστάτου τῶν προέδρων (cf. § 39. 4),

it is difficult to find a place for this item in the procedure described in § 39.

5. ἥτοι... ἢ: always in this order. The speaker indicates the former alternative as the more prob. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 331 D, ἥτοι ταῦτόν ἐστι δικαιοῦς ὁσιότητι ἢ ὅτι ὁμοιωτάτον, where Socrates clearly inclines to identify the two.

7. δὴ που: of course.

8. παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι: the *reductio ad absurdum* is closed with emphasis. For the phraseology, cf. II. 64, ψευδῇ καὶ ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι.

c) Object of the Dionysiac law. §§ 41-48.

Aeschines is not contented with proving that the defendants are cheating; he goes on to explain how it is possible for them to do so.

§ 41. 2. ἐγώ: the use of the first pers. pron. beyond any apparent requirement of emphasis is characteristic of Aeschines. Cf. §§ 5, 54, 182, 186. In I. alone there are eighteen cases. The strengthened form ἐγωγε is often chosen when it is apparently little called for.—διδάξω: cf. Marcellinus (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* IV. 510),



ειπὼν ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ  
 θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. γιγνομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τρα-  
 5 γωδῶν ἀνεκήρυττόν τινας, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν  
 ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὅτι ὑπὸ  
 τῶν δημοτῶν· ἄλλοι δέ τινας ὑποκηρυξάμενοι τοὺς αὐτῶν  
 οἰκέτας ἀφίεσαν ἐλευθέρους, μάρτυρας τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 42 ποιοῦμενοι. ὁ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατον, προξενίας τινὲς  
 εὐρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι  
 ὅτι στεφανοὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων  
 ἢ Χίων ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ  
 5 ἀνδραγαθίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς

χρῆ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ τιθέντος νομοθέτου γνώ-  
 μην ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀναπλάττειν πρὸς τὸ  
 οἰκεῖον συμφέρον τὸν ῥήτορα. This is  
 especially necessary (511) ἐὰν κοινὸς  
 ᾖ ὁ νόμος καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἔσται τὸ ῥητὸν ἀναγινω-  
 σκόμενον.

4. τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγωδῶν: i.e. the  
 Great Dionysia. The proclamations  
 were made before the opening of the  
 theatrical exhibition. Cf. § 154.

5. οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον: an  
 essential addition, since the earlier  
 custom was not abrogated, but only  
 limited by the proviso, ἐὰν ψηφισθῇ  
 ὁ δῆμος. For a similar formula, cf.  
 Ar. Plut. 949, οὔτε τὴν βουλὴν πειθὼν  
 τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

8. ἀφίεσαν: manu mittébant.  
 — ἐλευθέρους: pred. adj.; redundant  
 but usual addition.

§ 42. 1. ἐπιφθονώτατον: bad as  
 the previous cases were, implying  
 undue love of ostentation, it was far  
 worse for citizens of Athens to parade  
 their honors derived from some for-  
 eign state, disparaging by implication  
 those conferred by their own. Cf.  
 § 43. 3. — προξενίας τινὲς εὐρημένοι ἐν

ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι: the reference is  
 to certain Athenians who acted at  
 Athens as πρόξενοι of these other cities  
 in such a way as to win their favor.  
 See Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalterthümer*,  
 § 116. 7. Cf. Thuc. vi. 89. 2 (Alci-  
 biades is speaking in Sparta), τῶν δ'  
 ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ἡμῶν κατὰ  
 τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ πάλιν  
 ἀναλαμβάνων ἐθεράπευον ἡμᾶς ἔλλα τε  
 καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφορὰν, καὶ  
 διατελοῦντός μου προθύμου ἡμεῖς πρὸς  
 Ἀθηναίους καταλασσύμενοι τοῖς μὲν  
 ἡμῶς ἐχθροῖς δύνανμι, δι' ἐκείνων πρά-  
 ξαντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε.

2. διεπράττοντο: carried through by  
 intrigue. Cf. §§ 179, 180. The use  
 of money is prob. included. See on  
 § 33. 4 ἐργολαβεῖν, which refers to the  
 same thing.

3. εἰ οὕτω τύχοι: for instance. Cf.  
 i. Ep. Cor. 15. 37, γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ  
 τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν. — ὁ τῶν  
 Ῥοδίων: to find here an allusion to  
 Demosthenes' oration ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων  
 ἐλευθερίας (xv.) would be venture-  
 some.

4. ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας: a  
 formula. Cf. § 49. 6.



βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στεφανούμενοι ἢ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς [καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος], πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελόμενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου.

43 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυττομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμαῖς τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέ-

6 δεικτο τόπος ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ᾗ χρῆν στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγορεύ-

44 οντο ἐναντίον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. συνιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκείνον· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέα-

6 τρον· οὐτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθείς· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέ-

7. καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος: see App. — πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι: having established a claim to great gratitude on your part. Cf. Antípho, v. 61, τό τε ἴδιον τὸ αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ χάριν καταθέσθαι. Menand. in Meineke, *Com. Frag.*, IV. 679, ἀπέχω πάλιν, Φιλῖνε, παρὰ σοῦ τὴν χάριν· τούτου γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔνεκα πρὸς σὲ κατεθέμην.

8. προελόμενοι: having seized the honor for themselves beforehand. To these men, so greedy of praise, the way through conspicuous desert is too hard and long.

§ 43. 3. μέζοσι τιμαῖς τιμᾶσθαι: see on § 42. 1. For similar phrases cf. Isocr. ix. 57, αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήσαμεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς. Lys. xxvi. 20, αὐτοὺς δὲ δῆμος ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς τετίμηκεν.

6. ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ: see on § 32. 5.

§ 44. 1. τίς νομοθέτης: a proof that Aeschines does not regard Solon as

the author of all the legislation of Athens. See on § 38. 3. — οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα: cf. § 36. 2, οὐδὲν προσήκοντα, in the same connection.

3 ff. οὔτε . . . οὔτε: the proof of each negation follows it immediately as in i. 179, ἐξέρχεσθ' ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων οὐδὲ παρ' ἑτέρου δίκην εἰληφότες, οὔτε παρὰ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ· ψῆφος γὰρ κατ' αὐτοῦ οὐ δέδοται· οὔτε παρὰ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου· ταῖς γὰρ ἁλλοτρίαις αἰτίαις ἐκπέφηνεν.

6. οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν: "the enactment of a new law contradictory to one already existing is not a supposable method of settling things." — ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν κτλ.: sc. τίθησι νόμον. This is the contrast to οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ . . . νόμῳ, 2 f. "This law has nothing to do with the law concerning those crowned by the people, but it is in regard to those crowned without your vote."

ρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν  
 στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρηδὴν ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπε-  
 10 λευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημο-  
 τῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλον, φησί,  
 45 μηδεὶός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ 80  
 τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις τὸ βουλευ-  
 τήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [στεφα-  
 νουμένοις] τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν  
 5 [στεφανουμένοις] ἀπείπῃ μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τρα-  
 γωδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγ-  
 ματα ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπῃ δ' ἐν τῷ  
 νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδεὶός, — ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα  
 ἀφέλλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέ-  
 46 φανοι; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, σημείον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ αὐ-

9. καὶ διαρρηδὴν ἀπαγορεύει: Aeschines first gives the general scope of the law, and then enumerates its separate prohibitions.

11. μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδεὶός: made by the argument in § 45 to refer to ξενικοὶ στέφανοι. It is therefore the especially important item in this enumeration: hence *μηδέ*, and not *μήτε*.

12. ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα: the penalty was imposed on the herald, as the most effective means of enforcing the prohibition. — ἢ: *otherwise* (Germ. *sonst*), like *ei dē mē*, Ar. *Ran.* 629.

§ 45. 1. ἀποδείξῃ: *sc. νομοθέτης* from § 44. 2, which is also the subj. of the following verbs ἀπείπῃ and προσαπείπῃ.

5. τοῖς τραγωδοῖς: see on § 36. 8.

6. ἐρανίζων: spoken bitterly, *begging*.

7. προσαπείπῃ: *he puts in the additional prohibition*.

8. μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδεὶός: see on § 44. 11; a virtual quotation from the law. See App. If the law contained this *general* prohibitory clause, and then added, for a *special* case, the proviso, ἐὰν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος (§§ 36. 8, 47. 7), it is easy to see how Demosthenes and Ctesiphon might pervert it to make it cover their case. Aeschines has good reason to omit the proviso at this point; he wishes first to make it absolutely clear that this prohibition must refer to ξενικοὶ στέφανοι. — ὅταν δέ κτλ.: a mild *anacoluthon*. The form of the sent. is changed to reduce the argument to the formula of 'elimination by subtraction,' to which Aeschines seems to incline. Cf. § 30.

§ 46. 1. σημείον: cf. Anaxim. *Rhet.* 12, σημείον δέ ἐστι τό γε εἰθισμένον γίνεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ἅμα τῷ πράγματι ἢ μετὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ποιεῖ δέ τῶν

τῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρρηθῇ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηναῖς κελεύει ὁ νόμος, ἀφελόμενος τὸν  
 5 στεφανούμενον. καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ιδιώτης οὐδὲ εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττει καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. ἀλλ' οἶμαι διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν  
 10 στέφανον καὶ ἡ καθιέρωσις γίνεται, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἄλλοτριαν εὐνοίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς πατρίδος  
 47 χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνους τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναρρηθέντα οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦθ' ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν

σημείων τὸ μὲν οἶσθαι τὸ δὲ εἰδέναι, κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ εἰδέναι ποιοῦν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ δόξαν πιθανωτάτην ἐργαζόμενον. The plain man is not always convinced by the most valid syllogism. Therefore Aeschines clinches his argument with the more popular proof from probability. "It is not probable that the Athenians would immediately take away from the receiver a crown bestowed by themselves." It suits his purpose to ignore the fact that this consecration and public exposition of the crown was an added honor.

3 f. ἱερὸν εἶναι κτλ.: this statement is corroborated by inscriptions. See Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, 3d German ed., Vol. II. pp. 136, 142 ff.

5. ὑμῶν: the jurors are treated as representing the sovereign people. For the effectiveness of this form of argument, see on § 37. 7.

6. καταγνῶναι: with gen. ὑμῶν; to

lay to your charge.—μὴ . . . ὅτι: not to say a state, not even a private individual. H. 1035 a. Cf. i. 122, μὴ γὰρ ὅτι εἰ πέτρακταί τι τούτων, ἀλλ' εἰ δοκῶ ὑμῖν παραπλησίως βεβαιωκεῖναι, παραδίδωμι τὴν εἰς ἐμμενὸν τιμωρίαν ἀπολογήσασθαι τῇ πόλει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Plato *Apol.* 40 d, οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ιδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλεῖα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας.

7. οὐδὲ εἰς: culmination of the emphatic negation: no, not one. H. 290 a.

11. τῆς πατρίδος: prob. a common brachylogy for the cacophonous τῆς τῆς πατρίδος. Cf. Hom. *Od.* ii. 121, τῶν οὐ τις ὁμοία νοήματα Πηνελόπειᾳ ἦδ' ὄν.

§ 47. 1. οὐκ . . . οὐδεὶς: another emphatic negative. Cf. § 46. 7.

4. ὑπόμνημα: pred., as a reminder. Cf. i. 25, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὑπόμνημα καὶ μύμημα τοῦ Σόλωνος σχήματος. Plato *Phaedr.* 249 c, τοῖς δὲ δὴ τοιούτοις ἀνὴρ



5 ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον γίγνωνται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν  
ὁ νομοθέτης μὴδὲ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον,  
εἰ μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ὡς ἡ πόλις ἢ βουλομένη τινὰ  
τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν πρέσβεις πέμψασα δεηθῇ τοῦ  
δήμου, ὁ δὲ κηρυττόμενος μείζω χάριν εἰδῇ τῶν στεφα-  
10 νούντων ὑμῖν, ὅτι κηρύξαι ἐπετρέψατε. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ  
λέγω, αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἀκούσατε.

## NOMOI.

48 Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσ-  
γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσῃ-  
ται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ναὶ εἴ  
γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
5 ἀποδέδεικται σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἀπεί-  
ρηται σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ

ὑπομνήμασι ὁρθῶς χράμενος τέλεος ὄν-  
τως μόνος γίνεσθαι.

6. *μηδέ*: and not, introducing a virtual quot. from the law. *κηρύττεσθαι*, like *εἶναι*, § 44. 12, is the inf. common in laws.

7. *εἰ μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος*: see on § 45. 8, *μηδ' ὅπῃ ἀλλου μηδενός*. The clause on which the whole argument turns is at last brought in with an apparent carelessness which is the highest art. Assuming (in ἀλλότριον) his interpretation to be the only correct one, Aeschines appears now to be simply explaining *why* the provisional clause was added.

9. *τῶν στεφανούντων*: a less common const. than ἡ τοῖς στεφανούσι. H. 643 b. Cf. Dem. III. 32, *μείζων ἐμοὶ βλάβη τῶν πεπονηκότων*.

The principle here enunciated is parallel to our reprobation of an American citizen receiving an order

of nobility from a foreign sovereign.

§ 48. 1. *ἐξαπατῶντες*: pres. of attempted action. G. 200, s. 2; H. 825. Contemporary with *λέγωσιν* which refers to fut. time. GMT. 61, 3; H. 916. — *προσγέγραπται*: note the force of the prep.

3. *ἀπομνημονεύετε*: bear in mind. Cf. *memento mori*. Hdt. v. 65, *ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ὃ τὸ οὐνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἰπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι*.

4. *γέ*: strengthens the modification introduced by *εἰ*. See on *ὦ γέ*, § 21. 4.

5. *ἀποδέδεικται* . . . *ἀπείρηται*: the asyndeton sets the prescriptive and the prohibitory sides of the law sharply face to face.

6. *γάρ*: explains *ἀπείρηται* κτλ. Aeschines' whole argument rests on the use of the clause of the law, *ἀλλοθὶ δὲ μὴδαμῶς*. See on § 32. 5. At this point, Aeschines seems to pass

“ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγει· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔννομα οὗτος γέγραπεν.

- 49 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ’ ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἡ πρόφασις, δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι· “καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας,” καὶ τὸ μέ-

from the supposed words of the jury to an indignant utterance of his own.

8. οὗτος: i.e. Ctesiphon, prob. pointed out with a gesture.

PART II. DEMOSTHENES IS UNWORTHY OF THE PROPOSED HONOR.  
§§ 49-176.

1) Introduction. §§ 49, 50.

§ 49. 1. ἐφ’ ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω: Aeschines must have been conscious of a certain dulness in his oration hitherto, and may well have heaved a sigh of relief on entering upon a more congenial theme for his oratory. The hope of forcing Demosthenes to follow him in the same infelicitous order was doubtless a great consolation to him.

Ancient rhetoricians are inclined to regard the addition of Part II. as a mistake on the part of Aeschines. Cf. Syrianus (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* IV. 205), Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφώντος οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς παράνομον δεῖξαι τὸ γραφεὶν ψήφισμα, ἀλλὰ προσθεὶς ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιον στεφάνου ὁ Δημοσθένης πρόφασιν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ τῆς τῶν οἰκείων πολιτευμάτων διεξόδου κεχορήγηκεν ἀφθονον· εἰ δὲ περὶ μόνον ἔστη τὸ κρινόμενον, θάπτον ἂν εἴλεε Δημοσθένην Τιμάρχου. This is a very superficial view of the trial. Aeschines aimed not so much at the condemnation of Ctesiphon as at the

annihilation of Demosthenes. In the condemnation of Timarchus he secured a substantial victory, gaining his defensive battle. In this offensive battle anything short of crushing his great rival must be a defeat.

It was a blunder on Aeschines' part to betray his personal animosity in the first sentence of Part II. Hitherto he has posed as the champion of venerable laws, letting them speak through him (see on § 22. 9). When he again, §§ 202, 210, maintains that Demosthenes is not personally interested in the case, and has no right to speak, his disingenuousness is barefaced enough seriously to impair the effect of his oratory.

It may be added here that to commit the case to the jury without the addition of Part II. would have been fatal. Athenian juries were not very closely bound by legal considerations. The orator who most skilfully moved their passions won his case.

5. πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας: prob. not words of the ψήφισμα, but here given as if a part of it, in order to make Ctesiphon's intention appear in a very odious light. The orators often indulge in such perversions in citations. See on §§ 101 *fin.*, 142. 7.

6. ἀνδραγαθίας: the decree prob. had ἐννόμιος. Cf. *CIG.* No. 107, ἀρετῆς

γιστον· "ὅτι διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ  
 50 δῆμῳ." ἀπλοῦς δὲ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος  
 γίγνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρίναι εὐμαθῆς· δεῖ γὰρ δὴ  
 που τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνύναι,  
 ὡς εἰσὶν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς καὶ ὡς  
 5 οὗτ' ἤρξατο οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα  
 τῷ δῆμῳ. κἂν τοῦτ' ἐπιδείξω, δικαίως δὴ που τὴν  
 γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύου-  
 σιν οἱ νόμοι μηδὲνα ψευδῇ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις  
 ψηφίσμασι. τῷ δ' ἀπολογουμένῳ τοῦναντίον τούτου δεικ-  
 10 τέον ἐστίν. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῶν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων κριταί.  
 ἔχει δ' οὕτως.

51 Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζω

ἐνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἦν ἔχων διατελεῖ  
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. Aeschines substi-  
 tutes ἀνδραγαθίας as serving to point  
 a thrust at Demosthenes' coward-  
 ice, a threadbare topic with him  
 and Dinarchus. Cf. § 152. 4. Di-  
 narch. i. 12, 71, 81. — τὸ μέγιστον:  
 appos. to the sent. G. 137, n. 3;  
 H. 626 b.

7. ὅτι: because; not co-ord. with  
 8τι 5.

§ 50. 1. ἀπλοῦς: simplicity implies  
 truth. Cf. Cic. Off. i. 13, quod ve-  
 rum est idem simplex. Eur.  
 Phoen. 409, ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας ἔφω. Dem. xxiii. 24, θεόσασθε  
 δὴ πρὸς Διὶ ὡς ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως χρή-  
 σασμαι τῷ λόγῳ. Shak. J. C. iii. 3. 'a  
 plain blunt man.'

2. εὐμαθῆς: pass., spoken by way  
 of encouragement to hearers prob.  
 somewhat muddled by the painful  
 elaborateness of the argument con-  
 cerning the Dionysiac law.

4. κατὰ: common with gen. after  
 ἔπαινος and kindred words. Cf. §§ 124,

241. Dem. vi. 9; xviii. 215. So  
 freq. in Plato.

7. ἅπαντες οἱ νόμοι: had there been  
 one such prohibitory law, Aeschines  
 would have quoted it. The falsifying  
 of public documents, which may well  
 have been made punishable by statute,  
 was a very different thing from secur-  
 ing the passage of a bill with a false  
 preamble, which is the only offence  
 with which Ctesiphon is here charged.  
 Aeschines is juggling with words.  
 The fact that Demosthenes makes no  
 attempt to unmask this trick shows  
 how little stress Greek orators before  
 a court laid on legal considerations,  
 when personal considerations pressed.

11. ἔχει δ' οὕτως: formula of tran-  
 sition to a following thought. Cf.  
 Xen. An. v. 6. 12.

2) Demosthenes is unworthy of the  
 crown even on account of his private life.  
 §§ 51-53.

§ 51. 1. μὲν: correl. to δέ, § 54.  
 1. — βίον: i.e. ἰδίον βίον. Contrasted



μακροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. τί γὰρ δεῖ  
νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γρα-  
φὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἄρειον πά-  
5 γον Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ,  
52 καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφι-  
σοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλουν τὸν εἰς 61  
Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἰς ὧν τῶν τριηράρχων καὶ περιάγων  
τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθύων καὶ συσπέν-

with τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων, § 54. 1. The usual form of contrast is seen in § 203. 2.

2. μακροτέρου: too long. — γὰρ: sc. "and I will not do it." Paraleipsis lends itself readily to insinuations against the character of an opponent, since the rhetorical figure relieves one of the necessity of accurate proof of the charge thrown out. Cf. §§ 203, 204; I. 39, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ μὲν παῖς ὢν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμάρτηκεν ἀφίημι.

4. εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον: cases of assault with intent to kill, as well as of murder, came before this court and involved such penalties as exile and confiscation of property. See Schömann, I. p. 341. The charge that Demosthenes cut his own head in order to bring the suit is made in § 212 with characteristic exaggeration, μυριάκις κατετέμην. Cf. II. 93, πρότερον δ' ὑπέμεινας τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου οὐκ ἐπεξιών τῇ τοῦ τραύματος γραφῇ, ἣν ἐγράψω Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν σαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν. A similar charge occurs in Dem. XL. 32, οὗτος ἐμοὶ μετὰ Μενεκλέους ἐπιβουλεύσας καὶ ἐξ ἀντιλογίας καὶ λοιδορίας πληγὰς συναψάμενος, ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τραύματος εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον με προκαλέσας, ὡς φυγαδεύσω ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. This suit (γραφὴ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας)

seems to have been a not uncommon method of σοκοφαντία.

5. Δημομέλην: son of Demon, Demosthenes' father's brother, and brother of Demophon who was engaged to Demosthenes' sister. The quarrel doubtless grew out of the litigation over the inheritance. See Schäfer, I. p. 271.

§ 52. 1. Κηφισοδότου: leader of the fleet sent 350 B.C. against Charidemus, who was then with difficulty upholding the cause of Cersobleptes in Thrace. Cephisodotus was nevertheless forced by Charidemus to conclude a dishonorable peace. See Schäfer, I. p. 140.

3. περιάγων: the commander sailed on the ship of Demosthenes, one of the trierarchs. Cf. [Dem.] I. 52, τὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν ὁ Κάλλιππος τῆς νεῶς περιάγοι τὸν Καλλίστρατον. Dem. XLIII. 163 ff. gives an eye-witness' report of this expedition. For the particulars referring to time prior to that of οὐκ ὤκησεν, see GMT. 16, 2; H. 856 a.

4 f. Demosthenes' crime is painted in the blackest colors, the strength of Cephisodotus' claim on him being emphasized by the thrice-used σύν in composition, and πατρικός. Demosthenes may, however, in this case have allowed the patriot within him to

5 δων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιωθείς διὰ τὸ πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος  
εἶναι, οὐκ ὤκησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρωομένου  
περὶ θανάτου κατήγορος γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδη τὰ  
περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους, οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρ-  
χῆστρα χορηγὸς ὢν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν ἅμα  
10 τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτο-  
53 νίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου. ταῦτα

suppress the friend, as in cases referred to in §§ 77, 224. Moreover, the fact that Demosthenes furnished the best trireme prob. had as much to do with Cephisodotus' selecting his ship, as hereditary friendship. Cf. [Dem.] I. 52, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ὁ Τιμόμαχος (the admiral) οὐκ ἠνάγκαζε παραλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὴν ναῦν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὸς χρῆσθαι τῇ νηὶ ὡς ἄριστα πλεούσῃ.

6. εἰσαγγέλλας: see on § 3. 9. Cf. §§ 79. 4, 171. 6.

7. περὶ θανάτου: on a capital charge. Cf. Dem. IV. 47, τῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὁμῶν περὶ θανάτου. — κατήγορος: prob. only as witness. Euthycles, the friend for whom Demosthenes wrote the oration against Aristocrates (xxiii), was one of the accusers. In this oration, hatred of Charidemus prompts Demosthenes to a comparatively mild judgment of Cephisodotus (*ibid.* §§ 167 f.). — καὶ ἤδη: "no sooner do we pass one disgraceful topic than another presents itself." — τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν: obj. of λέγειν, § 51. 3. This famous case of assault and battery, mentioned by Aeschines with evident glee, was not at all discreditable to Demosthenes. Midias, cherishing an ancient grudge, committed the assault upon him publicly in the theatre of Dionysus at the Great Dionysia, 350 B.C., when Demosthenes was clad in the festal robe of a chore-

gus. On the following day, the 17th of Elaphebolion, the people, assembled in the theatre of Dionysus, on complaint (προβολή) of Demosthenes passed a vote of censure (καταχειροτονία) against Midias. See L. and S. s.v., καταχειροτονία. This prejudgment of the case allowed Demosthenes to go before the regular court at a great advantage. See Schömann, I. pp. 302 f.

9. ἀπέδοτο: sold. Dem. xxi. (*Against Midias*) was prob. not delivered.

10. τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν: Dem. is here represented as basely abandoning the people who shared the insult, and all for thirty minae! Demosthenes was, however, at this time, a man of little influence. The rich and powerful Midias, the friend of Eubulus, might secure an acquittal if the case were pushed. The vote of censure and the mere fact of a payment by Midias, as a quasi confession of guilt, saved Demosthenes' honor. The words of the oration, xxi. 103, καὶ γὰρ οὐτ' ἀνεκρίνατο ταύτην ὁ συνοφάντης ἐκεῖνος . . . ἐφ' ἧ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἡτλώκεν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθὼν, οὐδεμιὰς ἔγωγ' ἔτι προσδέομαι δίκης, ἀλλ' ἱκανὴν ἔχω, contain a rebuke of another person who failed to follow up a complaint once announced. It is strange that Demosthenes did not suppress them in publishing the oration.

11. ἐν Διονύσου: sc. θεάτρῳ. Cf. II. 61.



μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβή-  
 σεσθαι, οὐ προδιδούς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζό-  
 μενος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο φοβούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαν-  
 5 τήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγειν, ἀρχαία δὲ καὶ λίαν  
 ὁμολογούμεναι. καίτοι, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ μέγιστα  
 τῶν αἰσχρῶν οὕτως ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν,  
 ὥστε τὸν κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῇ λέγειν ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ  
 καὶ λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερ' αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῷ στε-  
 10 φάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σὲ τὸν τὰ παρά-  
 νομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν δι-  
 καστηρίων ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει δοῦναι;

54 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σα-  
 φέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθέ-

§ 53. 3. οὐ προδιδούς ὑμᾶς: Aeschines artfully apologizes to the jurors for treating Demosthenes so tenderly. — καταχαριζόμενος: abandon out of favor to him. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 35 c, ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια.

4. ἀπαντήσῃ: cf. I. 164, ἔπειτ' οὐ πολλὰ κραυγὴ παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν αὐτῷ ἀπαντήσεται.

5. ἀρχαία καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα: cf. I. 44, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀγνωσμένων σαφεῖς ἴσως προσήκει τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιῆσθαι τὸν κατήγορον, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁμολογούμενων οὐ λίαν ἔγωγε μέγα ἔργον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ κατηγορεῖν. Aeschines uses this argument with great skill. See on § 175 in.

6. ὦ Κτησιφῶν: apostrophe is common in this oration. Cf. §§ 56, 131, 163, 165, 200, 202, 242 etc. — ἐφ' ᾧ: in whose case. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 414, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν φόβος εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖ.

10. ψέγεσθαι: the vox contraria to ἐπαινεῖν. Cf. Plato *Gorg.* 483 b, οἱ τιθέμενοι τοὺς νόμους πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ αὐτοῖς συμφέρον καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινους ἐπαι-

νοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ψόγους ψέγουσιν. — καὶ σέ: in his vehemence against Demosthenes the speaker must not forget that Ctesiphon is really on trial.

This section is in Aeschines' best and sharpest manner.

3) Prothesis of the succeeding treatment of the δημόσια ἀδικήματα. §§ 54-57. The prothesis is in place before the largest topic in the direct proof.

§ 54. 1. δέ: see on μὲν, § 51. 1. — σαφέστερον: more explicitly, i.e. than about his private life. Cf. 204. 10.

2. καὶ γὰρ: sc. "and I will be thus explicit." H. 1050, 4 d, last clause. Lest this comprehensive review of Demosthenes' public career shall seem an *ἐξωθεν λόγος* (Dem. xviii. 9) in a *παρανόμων γραφή* it is here affirmed that Demosthenes himself has already outlined the discussion. More effective is Demosthenes' counter-thrust (xviii. 4) that Aeschines is to blame for shaping the discussion so that he, the speaker, must speak in



νην, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμῆσθαι  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγέννηται  
 5 καιροὶ ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. ὦν ἓνα μὲν καὶ πάν-  
 των πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται ἐκείνῳ τὸν  
 χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολε-  
 μούμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ  
 συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς  
 55 οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω. δεύτερον δέ φησι γε-  
 νέσθαι ὃν ἡγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλὸν ὅτι μέχρι

praise of himself. — πυνθάνομαι μέλ-  
 λειν: cf. §§ 189, 255.

3. καταριθμῆσθαι: used here and  
 § 55. 7 of a formal and ostentatious  
 enumeration, like καταλογίζεται, line 6.

4. ὡς τέτταρες γεγέννηται καιροί:  
 this is not a genuine attempt at an-  
 ticipation. An arrangement which is  
 very convenient for the speaker in  
 breaking up for his hearers a very  
 long narrative, as a long journey is  
 broken to the traveller by milestones,  
 is ascribed by pure invention to his  
 opponent. He thus scores a point  
 with the jury for kindly adapting  
 himself to the plans of the opponent.  
 Demosthenes makes no such formal  
 division of his public life. He fur-  
 thermore, ignores Aeschines' fourth  
 period, and claims that the events in  
 the first, and in much of the second,  
 are irrelevant.

5. αὐτός: representing the em-  
 phatic ἐγὼ of the dir. disc., ἐγὼ πεπο-  
 λίτευμαι.

6. ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω: persistent hold-  
 ing on to the idea expressed in 2 f.

7. χρόνον ἐν ᾧ κτλ.: First Period,  
 357-346 B.C.—ὑπὲρ: not exactly like  
 περὶ (see on § 10. 11), but indicating  
 that the object of the war was the  
 recovery of Amphipolis, which the

Athenians regarded as stolen from  
 them by Philip. See Introd. § 13.

8. ἀφορίζεται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ:  
 Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ μέχρι τῆς γενομένης εἰ-  
 ρήνης, συλλαμβάνων αὐτὴν τὴν εἰρήνην.

9. Φιλοκράτης: see Grote, XI. c. 89.  
 pp. 175 ff. As Philocrates has been  
 convicted of taking bribes, both De-  
 mosthenes (cf. XVIII. 21) and Aeschines  
 falsely disavow all complicity with  
 him, and charge this upon each other.  
 Sixteen years have elapsed since the  
 events here discussed, and a new ge-  
 neration has arisen (cf. Dem. XVIII. 50,  
 τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων), be-  
 fore whom the speakers can be bold  
 in their affirmations. In 1., delivered  
 345 B.C., before the impeachment of  
 Philocrates, Aeschines is not anxious  
 to disclaim complicity with him. Cf.  
 I. 174, ψέγων (i.e. Dem.) τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν  
 δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγεννημένην.

§ 55. 2. ὃν χρόνον: equiv. to τὸν  
 χρόνον ὃν. G. 154; H. 995. Second  
 Period, 346-340 B.C.—ἡγομεν τὴν εἰρή-  
 νην: ἔχειν εἰρήνην, keep a peace; ἔχειν  
 εἰρήνην, have peace, so far as the ad-  
 versary is concerned, also grant peace,  
 after the analogy of συγγνώμην ἔχειν  
 τινί. The Mss. freq. confound these  
 phrases.—δηλὸν ὅτι: equiv. to an  
 adv. H. 1049, 1 a.

τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρὸν. ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος, ὡς ἀκούω, μέλλει με παρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν, ποίου τούτων τῶν τεττάρων αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλτιστά φημι 10 τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεύσθαι· κἂν μὴ θέλω ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκκαλύψω μέ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἔλξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀπο-

3. καταλύσας: only instance of καταλύειν for λύειν (τὴν εἰρήνην).

4. ῥήτωρ: i.e. not the soldier to whom wars belong. Cf. § 148. 8.—ἔγραψε: in a passage (Dem. xviii. 76) the tenor of which it is difficult to harmonize with the rest of the oration, Demosthenes denies that he was the mover of this bill. But Philochorus in Dionys. *ad Amm.* i. 11 explicitly affirms it, Δημοσθένους προκαλέσαντος Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ψηφίσματα γράψαντος ἐχειροτόνησαν τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν, ναὺς δὲ πληροῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. The removal of the column, which was the formal declaration of war, took place in 340 B.C.

5. τρίτον: Third Period, 340–338 B.C.

6. τέταρτον: Fourth Period, 338–330 B.C. Unless Ctesiphon had renewed in 330 his bill first proposed in 336 (see *Introd.* § 24), any attempt to bring the time between 336 and 330 into the case, would have been so manifestly unfair that it would have operated against Aeschines. He was too clever to fall into such an error.

8. ποίου: gen. of the thing after κατηγορῶ as in § 56. 8. *Kr. Spr.* 47, 24, 2.—αὐτοῦ: dependent on καιρῶν: what one of these four periods of his I assail.

9. καὶ πότε κτλ.: this clause is added to take up the very words of Ctesiphon's bill.

11. ἐγκαλύπτωμαι: sign of fear or shame.—ἀποδιδράσκω: favorite metaphor of Demosthenes. Cf. Dem. viii. 3, καὶ μὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι. ix. 74, ἀποδράσεισθαι τὰ πράγματα. xl. 54, ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.—ἐκκαλύψω: spoken with reference to ἐγκαλύπτωμαι. This and the two preceding verbs look like a quot. from the spoken oration of Demosthenes; but that Demosthenes should actually have put such a question as this after Aeschines had finished his oration surpasses belief. This is prob. a part of Aeschines' poor attempt at anticipation. See *Introd.* § 28.

12. ἔλξειν καὶ ἀναγκάσειν: characterizing Demosthenes' arbitrary and tyrannical manner. Cf. § 150. 4 f.—τὸ βῆμα: see on § 207. 9.



56 κρίνασθαι. ἢν' οὖν μήθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζεται ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε, ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δημόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ὅσοι γε ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν  
 5 ἔπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως· ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους· ἀποκρίνομαι δῆ, ὅτι ἀπάντων  
 57 τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγορῶ, ὅσους σὺ διαιρεῖ, κἂν οἷ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούωσι· κἀγὼ δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεύσαι ἅ σοι σύννοδα, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ

§ 56. 1. ἰσχυρίζεται: ἰσχυρίζεσθαι de pertinace dicitur qui superbe et importune, non argumentorum pondere, sed sua unius auctoritate nixus, aliquid ita esse asseverat, ut ipse pronuntiet, et mendacia dicere eos, qui aliud quid affirmant. Bremi, *ad loc.* Cf. Thuc. vii. 49. 1, ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα λέγων ἰσχυρίζετο, αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀκριβῶς.

2. ἀποκρίνομαι: see App. The answer being held in suspense, the verb is repeated below with emphasis.

3. ἔξωθεν: i.e. outside the lattice (δρῦφακται, cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 55), separating the court from the visitors. Cf. Dem. xviii. 196, τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν ἀκροαμένους.

5. οὐκ ὀλίγους κτλ.: Cic. *De Opt. Dic. Gen.* 22, ad quod iudicium concursus dicitur tota Graecia factus esse. Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?

§ 57. 2. ἐξ ἴσου: acc. to the heliastic oath: cf. Dem. xxiv. 151, ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν. The oath is partially quoted in ii. 1, ἀνδρας ὁμομολόγους τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσεσθαι.

3. ἀπομνημονεύσαι: by such phrases the orators assume the appearance of speaking extempore. There is also an implication that Demosthenes' crimes are so numerous that it is a strain upon the memory to retain them all.—σοί: by addressing Demosthenes the speaker is enabled to throw his address to the jurors into the third pers., and put the question of their fairness in the most respectful manner.—σύννοδα: the word is skilfully chosen, implying (1) "you know it as well as I," (2) the knowledge of something *against* Demosthenes. For the latter implication, cf. i. *Ep. Cor.* 4. 4, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμὰντφ σύννοδα.

4. προσδοκῶ: usually of things not in one's own power; here like expectation for sperare, and Eng. *expect* in 'I expect to beat you.'



- 5 πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλαν-  
θρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμέ-  
νους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην. καὶ χρή-  
σομαι τῇ τάξει ταύτῃ, ἣ καὶ τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν,  
λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον  
10 περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέ-  
ταρτον περὶ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. καὶ δὴ  
ἐπανάγω ἑμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκρά-  
της ἐγράφατε.
- 58 Ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προ-  
τέραν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν

5. καὶ τοὺς φιланθρώπως κτλ.: i.e. Philip and Alexander. Cf. Polyb. v. 10. 1, Φίλιππος νικήσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἤνυσσε διὰ τῶν ὑπλῶν ὅσον διὰ τῆς ἐπικεικίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρώων. Diodor. xvii. 62. 7, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἑλλοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου προτιμώμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον (Ol. 112. 3, 330-20 B.C.). Philip had treated Athens with special kindness because he knew that the co-operation of the Athenian fleet in his Asiatic campaign was of great importance to him. Alexander's Athenian policy was perhaps partly due to the influence of Aristotle.

7. Δημοσθένην: emphatic position with telling oratorical effect. For the view that Demosthenes' policy was the bane of Athens, cf. § 134. 6. Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 24. 8, ὡς δὲ Δημόδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν (λαμβάνει). Plut. *Dem.* 16, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερά μὲν ἦν ἐτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ταραττοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίνοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

8. μέλλειν: sc. χρῆσασθαι.

9 ff. This apparently uncalled for and flat enumeration may be intended to disarm suspicion of artifice.

11. καὶ δὴ: accordingly.

4) Demosthenes is responsible for the Peace of Philocrates. §§ 58-78.

a) Introduction. §§ 58-61. Aeschines simply ignores the important period of Demosthenes' activity containing the First Philippic and the three Olynthiacs.

§ 58. 1. ἐξεγένετ' ἄν: would have been allowed. Cf. Hdt. v. 105, ὃ Ζεὺς, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι. — τὴν προτέραν εἰρήνην: the Peace of Philocrates, 346 B.C. After Chaeronea, in 338 B.C., a second peace, the Peace of Demades, was negotiated with Macedonia.

2. συνεδρίου: convention. This was to be held at Athens and attended by delegates from all the states of Greece, with a view to forming an alliance against Philip. Demosthenes is here, as in §§ 64, 68, accused of forestalling the assembling of this congress by rushing the peace-nego-

Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶσαν περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας, 62  
 ᾗς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν  
 5 Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ  
 χρόνου παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν· καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ  
 Φιλοκράτην καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ᾗς ἐδωροδό-  
 59 κουν συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. εἰ δέ τισιν  
 ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ

tiations through the Athenian assembly before the arrival of the delegates. In 11. 79 Aeschines admits that he himself advocated the peace because he saw Athens abandoned by all allies. Dem. xix. 16 accuses Aeschines of speaking outrageous words in the presence of the delegates, while Dem. xviii. 23 (the reply to this passage) states that all the Greeks had long before returned a negative answer to the invitation of Athens (πάσαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι). This mutual contradiction of the two orators, as well as their inconsistencies with themselves, are discussed, with an attempt to elicit the truth, by Grote, XI. c. 89, pp. 195 ff. Schäfer, II. pp. 200 ff.

3. τινές: see on τινές, § 1. 3.

4. ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες: the compound form emphasizes the continuance of the result down to the time referred to. GMT. 17, 2, n. 2.

6. παρ' ἐκόντων: a reminder of the Confederacy of Delos. Cf. Thuc. i. 96. 1, παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων κτλ.—ἀπολαβεῖν: co-ord. with ποιήσασθαι: recover, as of a rightful heritage. Cf. § 168. 4, ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον, i.e. an account that is due you. [Dem.] vii. 5, ἔχετε τὴν νῆσον, ἃν τε λάβητε ἃν τ' ἀπολά-

βητε. So also ἀποδιδόναι, give what is due. Philip's proposal, Ἀλλόνησον δοῦναι, did not suit the anti-Macedonian party at Athens. They insisted upon the word ἀποδοῦναι. Cf. [Dem.] vii. 6 et passim.

8. καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας: with nearly the effect of a σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος. Cf. Dem. xix. 335, διὰ τούτους ἀπόλωλε καὶ τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν.—ἐδωροδόκουν: impf. because the bribe-taking was going on at the time of the peace negotiations. For the frequency of such charges in the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, see on δωροδοκοῦντες, § 9. 6.

9. συστάντες: cf. συστάς, § 60. 4: the proper word for the forming of a faction.—τὸ δημόσιον: the public interests.

§ 59. 2. ἐξαίφνης: cf. i. 17, ἴσως ἂν οὖν τις θαυμάσειεν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσας. i. 49, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὸν ἰδόντες θαυμάσητε. For sixteen years Demosthenes had spoken nothing but bitter words of the Peace of Philocrates, and constantly maintained the bearing of one who had never said a word in its favor. Meanwhile, the citizens had forgotten his former zeal for the peace. In order, therefore, to gain an impartial hearing for his representation, the speaker employs a striking illustration which Demosthenes



τοιούτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρό-  
 ασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ  
 5 χρόνου καθεζώμεθα. ἐρχόμεθα δὴ πού ψευδεῖς οἰκοθεν  
 δόξας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφα-  
 λαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις  
 οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὃ τι ἂν  
 60 ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῇ. οὕτω νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε.  
 εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἰκοθεν  
 τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν  
 πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκρά-  
 5 τους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν  
 μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. ἀλλ'  
 ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομνησκοντος τοὺς

(xviii. 227) dexterously turns against its author. — ἀπιστότερος: too incredible. II. 649 a. — προσπέτωκεν: the proper word for an unexpected statement. Cf. Dem. lvii. 12, τό τε πρᾶγμα ἄφνω προσπετωκέναι.

3. ἐκείνως: in that way, referring to the illustration drawn from settling of accounts, i.e. to something remote: hence not ὡς nor οὕτως.

5. καθεζώμεθα: sit, of a board or committee. Cf. Thuc. v. 55. 1, σφεῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ εἰρήνης ξυκαθῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' Ἐπιδαυρίους μὲθ' ἄλλων ἀντιτετάχθαι. — δὴ πού: it may be.

6. συγκεφαλαιωθῇ: Greek headed up, Eng. footed up.

7. δύσκολος: stubborn. Cf. Dem. vi. 30, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδαρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμι τις ἄνθρωπος. Arist. Eth. N. iv. 6, 9, ὁ δὲ πᾶσι δυσχεραίνων εἶρηται ὅτι δύσερις καὶ δύσκολος.

9. αἰρῇ: proves; so often in Plato, δ λόγος αἰρεῖ.

§ 60. 3 f. ὡς ἄρα κτλ.: Aeschines confesses that the mistaken notion

that Demosthenes never co-operated with Philocrates is wide-spread. Demosthenes (xviii. 227) boldly perverts this into an admission by his adversary, that the public judgment declares that Demosthenes is the patriot and Aeschines the traitor. For a good characterization of this sophistry, see Spengel, *Demosthenes' Vertheidigung des Ktesiphon*, pp. 57, 58. Aeschines is unfortunate enough to justify, in the words ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, the indignant exclamation, Dem. xviii. 294, ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι;

5. ὅστις: the pl. τινές is resumed with the generalizing sing.; common const. in prose and poetry. — μήτ' ἀπογνώτω: aor. impv., rare in prohibitions; less rare in the third pers. than in the second. For examples, see GMT. 86, x. 1 b; H. 874 b. For a striking commingling of pres. and aor. impv., cf. i. 19, 20.

7. ἐὰν κτλ.: prot. to the whole cond. sent. commencing line 9, of which the prot. is ἐὰν δ αὐτῆς κτλ. (resumed



καιρους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα παρεχομένον, ἃ μετὰ Φιλο-  
 κράτους γέγραφε Δημοσθένης, ἐὰν ὁ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας  
 10 λογισμὸς καταλάβῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγρα-  
 φότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης  
 61 καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχύνῃς κεκολακευ-  
 κότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ  
 δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιή-  
 σασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκδοτον δὲ πεποιηκότα Κερσοβλέ-  
 5 πτην τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ  
 πόλει, — ἂν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν  
 μετρίαν δέξιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον  
 τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπολιτεύσθαι.  
 λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.

62 Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα

§ 61. 6 on account of the length to which it is carried), the apod., *δεήσομαι* κτλ. § 61. 6.

9. αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας: perhaps an ironical allusion to a favorite expression of Demosthenes. See Spengel, *Vertheid. des Ktesiphon*, p. 13.

10. λογισμός: the figure of § 59 *fin.* is still maintained. — καταλάβῃ: used as *vox judicialis* both with and without the supplementary partic., equiv. to *ἐξελέγχειν*.

11. τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης: the original peace. See on § 58. 1.

§ 61. 2. πρέσβας: for specifications, cf. § 76.

4. ἔκδοτον κτλ.: in II. 86, Aeschines in reply to Demosthenes' allegation denies having committed this crime. Now he has grown bolder by lapse of time, and charges it upon Demosthenes himself.

5. ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον κτλ.: in spite of this and the similar phrase *ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῆς πόλεως*,

II. 9, it is doubtful whether Cersobleptes was a formal ally of Athens. He appears not to have been represented in the general congress (*συνέδριον*) of the Greeks. Cf. § 73. Common hostility to Philip was prob. the only bond between him and Athens. See Schäfer, II. p. 167.

7. δέξιν: see on τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐνομοθέτησε, § 2. 4. — ἐπινεύσατε: corresponding to *ὁμολογήσας*, § 59. 8. Cf. Hom. II. i. 528, ἦ, καὶ κτανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρουσι νεύσε Κρονίων. The opposite of *ἐπινεύειν*, *ἀνανεύειν*, is not used by the orators.

9. λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε: cf. II. 11, ἢ δ' ἡγοῦμαι σαφεστάτους μοι τοὺς λόγους ἔσσεσθαι καὶ γνωρίμους ὅμιν καὶ δικαίους, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι. Aeschines affects simplicity.

b) Demosthenes' diplomatic activity in the interest of the Peace. §§ 62-72.

§ 62. 1. Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης: this bill, more fully described in II. 13 ff.,

καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγγράφη παρανόμων. ἤκου οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγορεῖ μὲν Λυκῶνος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπ-  
 5 ελογεῖτο δὲ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγεν ὁ Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆει [χρόνος] Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθέ-  
 νης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἧν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράτ-  
 63 τοι Φιλοκράτει, ὥς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. νικᾷ γὰρ ἔτε-

was brought forward before the destruction of Olynthus, 348 B.C. Cf. II. 15, ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ὀλυνθος ἦλθ. See Schäfer, II. p. 155. Grote, XI. c. 89, pp. 175 f. — δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν: the seizure of Amphipolis by Philip was regarded by the Athenians as a crime, and the war against him was ἀκήρυκτος. Cf. II. 13, πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' (i.e. κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν) ἐκωλύετο ὑπὸ τιμῶν οἷς ἦν τοῦτ' ἐπιμελές.

3. παρανόμων: gen. of the crime. G. 173, 2; H. 745. — ἤκου κτλ.: notice the asyndeton in this passage, in which the main points of the trial are rapidly sketched.

4. συναπελογεῖτο: cf. II. 14, ἁρρώστως δ' ἔχων ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐκάλεσεν αὐτῷ συνήγορον τὸν Δημοσθένην, where ἐκάλεσεν implies Philocrates' own pleading. In other respects also the two descriptions of the trial are in harmony.

5. ἀπέφυγεν: see on § 10. 3.

6. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων: app. to χρόνος, which is prob. a gloss. The time referred to is mid-summer 347 B.C.

7. εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον: cf. II. 17, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσελθὼν Δημοκράτης. In this phrase, expressing membership in the βουλῇ,

βουλευτῆς is unusual. Cf. § 125. Lys. VI. 33; XXXI. 1. It is justified here by the οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών. Demosthenes was a member of the βουλῇ during two eventful years, 347-6 and 340-39 B.C.

8. οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών: although he was neither drawn in the first lot nor as a substitute. For ἐπιλαχών, cf. Harpocr. s.v. ἐπιλαχών: ἐκκληροῦντο οἱ βουλευταὶ ἢ ἄρχειν ἐπιέμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐκάστῳ τῶν λαχόντων ἕτερος ἐπελάττατο, ἧν εἰς τὸν πρῶτον λαχὼν ἀποδοκιμάσθην ἢ τελευτήσθην, ἀντ' ἐκείνου γίνονται βουλευτῆς ὁ ἐπιλαχών αὐτῷ. — ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος: see on § 3. 4, also on παρασκευήν, § 1. 1. παρασκευή, which often refers to the banding together of a strong faction, refers here to common bribery. Demosthenes was not yet a leader of the majority; but his First Philippic and his Olynthiac orations show a consciousness of increasing power and influence.

9. εἰς ὑποδοχὴν: in support. I.e. when Philocrates had spoken or made a motion, Demosthenes was to succeed him with a speech or a motion, as the case might demand.

10. ὥς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον: cf. § 141. 7; I. 40, πωλεῖν αὐτὸν προηρημένως, ὥς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔδειξεν. II. 13, ὥς αὐτὸ



ρον ψήφισμα ὁ Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι ὡς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας ἀποστελλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. τούτων εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. καέκειθεν ἐπαν-  
 5 ἤκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γρά-  
 φων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο

τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔδειξεν. Aeschines has a habit of appealing to 'the logic of events.' Dem. xviii. 20 is a similar appeal.

§ 63. 1. νικᾷ γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα: carries another bill. Cf. § 68. 4. Cognate acc., after the analogy of νικῆν νικᾶν. Cf. Thuc. iii. 36. θ, καταστάσης δ' εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γινώμει ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεωνέ-  
 του, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνεκικήκει, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἔλεγεν.

3. ὡς: by the omission of ἐπὶ or πρὸς, ὡς takes on the aspect of a prep.; but only before names of persons.

4. αὐτοκράτορας: plenipotentiaries. — ὑπὲρ: the peace is represented as an object of desire. See on § 54. 7.

5. τούτων εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης: in this short sent. lies the pith of the argument. The argument is a valid one. The suspicion of prevarication arises in connection with most of Aeschines' uncorroborated statements, invalidating his inferences. But here Demosthenes' undoubted participation in the embassy proves that he was in favor of the peace, unless we suppose the Athenian people guilty of the absurdity of electing a pronounced opponent of the peace to assist in carrying it through. Demosthenes at this time undoubtedly worked with Philocrates, though

animated by different motives. His denial, xviii. 21, Φιλοκράτης δ' Ἀγνοῦ-  
 σιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινῶς, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, is good against Aeschines' falsehood of denying co-operation with Philocrates. See on § 54. 9. It can hardly be called dishonest that Aeschines does not here mention that he was also one of the ten ambassadors. No one of the jury was ignorant of that fact.

6. ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν: cf. ii. 45, 49 ff. It was on the second embassy that Demosthenes quarrelled with his colleagues.

7. μόνος: it is certainly no discredit to Demosthenes that he was the author of the motion to receive the Macedonian envoys, when Athens had already sent an embassy to Macedonia to solicit peace.

8. τῷ κήρυκι: with the Greeks the herald was equiv. to our bearer of a flag of truce. Cf. Dem. xix. 163, ὅτε τὴν προτέραν ἀπῆρμεν πρεσβείαν, κήρυκα ὑμεῖς προπεστείλατε, ὅστις ἡμῖν σπείσεται.—ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει: the corroboration of § 62. 9, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν κτλ.

9. τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε κτλ.: gave permission that the herald and ambassadors might come. The verbs ἔδωκε and σπένδεται are strongly put, as if De-



10 κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὃ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπέν-  
 64 δεται. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη σφόδρα προσέχετε. ἐπράτ-  
 τετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκο-  
 φαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους,  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς  
 5 ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γρά-  
 φοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμενεῖτε τοὺς πρέσβεις,  
 οὓς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα  
 μὴ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην.  
 65 δευτέρον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμα-  
 χίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἵν' εἴ τινες προσ-  
 ἔχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν

mosthenes and Philocrates did the deeds, and not simply procured their enactment by the people.

§ 64. 1. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα: adv. acc. Cf. Plato *Apul.* 27 b, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε ἀπόκριναι. — ἐπράττετο: negotiations were carried on, sc. ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.

2. πρὸς: with.

3. ἐκ μεταβολῆς: cf. § 79. 1.

4. εἰκότως: a telling parenthesis, implying "Philip saw his man, and you can have no doubt."

5. ἅμα μὲν — ἅμα δέ: strong correlatives: at once — at once. — πρεσβεύοντας: attrib. partic.

6. ὅπως μὴ κτλ.: object clause after ἐπράττετο. For the fut. indic., see G. 217; H. 885 a.

7. ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες: see on § 58. 4.

8. μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων: when other Greek states are contrasted with Athens, Aeschines and, for the most part, Demosthenes, following the usage of Isocrates, employ either οἱ ἄλλοι or οἱ Ἕλληνες. If they are contrasted with any other single state, οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες is the formula. Cf. II. 79,

συρίστην Ἀρκάδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

§ 65. 1. καὶ συμμαχίαν: the primary object of Philip's negotiations was peace, not an alliance. The latter became prominent as the negotiations continued. An alliance with Athens and Thebes was essential to carrying out the plan of invading Asia, which Philip was probably just conceiving. The quot. from his letter, given Dem. XIX. 40, reads ἔγγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ διαρρήδην ἤλικα ὑμᾶς εἰ ποίησω, εἰ εἰς ᾗδεν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γεννησομένην. The alliance was formed, but the revolution in the policy of Athens brought about by Demosthenes deprived Philip of its fruits.

2. προσέχουσιν: should give heed. Cf. § 64. 1.

3. τῷ πλήθει: for τῷ κοινῷ contrasted with the *δυναστεία* of Demosthenes. See on *δυναστείας*, § 3. 10. The reference is to the call (line 4) extended by Athens to the other Greek states to join in war against Philip.

ἀθυμίαν ὀρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ  
 5 τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμ-  
 μαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσο-  
 βλέπτης ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μηδὲ μετ-  
 ἔσται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. παρήγγελτο  
 66δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεία. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος  
 οὐκ ἡδίκηκε, πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμέ-  
 σητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα, οἱ δ' ἀποδό-  
 μνοι καὶ κατακοινωνήσαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ μεγα-  
 5 λης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων  
 εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων  
 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς πό-  
 67λεως ὑφαίρουμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ

4. αὐτοὺς: i.e. the Greeks, τινάς. In dir. disc. the expression would be ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖτε. — ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον: more exactly is the object of the call given II. 57, ἵνα κοινῇ καὶ πολεμοῖεν, εἰ δέοι, Φιλίππῳ, καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, εἰ τοῦτο εἶναι δοκοῖσι σύμφερον, μετέχουσιν.

6. Κερσοβλέπτης: see on § 61. 5. For further details of Demosthenes' alleged treachery toward Cersobleptes, cf. § 74. Demosthenes also holds that the Athenians were led against their will into a betrayal of Cersobleptes; but he makes Aeschines and his coadjutors appear as the guilty agents, who purposely delayed administering the oath to Philip until he had wrought the ruin of this ally of Athens. Cf. Dem. xviii. 30 ff.; xix. 179.

8. παρήγγελτο: with this agrees II. 82, συνέβαινε δ' ὅτε τὴν πρυτάνην ἐπρεσβεύομεν πρεσβείαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀπινέαι δεῦρο, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐπὶ Θράκῃσι ἵεναι. The time was the spring of 346 B.C. Cf. II. 90.

§ 66. 2. οὐκ ἡδίκηκε κτλ.: a declaration perhaps inspired by the desire to con-

ciliate Alexander and maintain pleasant relations between him and Athens, but certainly more truthful than the statement of Dem. ix. 15, εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει. See Introd. § 26 note.

4. κατακοινωνήσαντες: elsewhere only in Dem. xxxii. 25, ἤρειτο αὐτὸς κερδᾶναι ἢ κατακοινωνήσας τοῖσι τῆς ὠφελείας τούτους ποιῆσαι μερίτας. — ἰσχυρὰ: interests; lit. strongholds. Cf. Dem. xxii. 12, εὐρήσετε γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου κείμενον.

5. μισαλέξανδρος: this word and μισοφίλιππος, perhaps both coined by Aeschines, are used by him with evident liking. Cf. § 73. 5; II. 14.

6. προφέρων: in the quot. of this passage in Dem. xviii. 51, this word is changed to ἀνειδίξων.

8. ὑφαίρουμενος: purloin. Note the force of the prep. Cf. §§ 145. 3, 222. 6. By the premature convening of the ἐκκλησία the state was deprived of its chances (καιροὺς) of alliance with the other Greek states.

§ 67. 1. ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις: see on § 2. 3.



ὀγδόῃ ἰσταμένου τοῦ ἐλαφιβολιῶνος μηνός, ὅτ' ἦν Ἀσκλη-  
 πιῷ ἢ θυσία καὶ ὁ προάγων, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὃ πρό-  
 τερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γεγονός, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησά-  
 5 μενος; ἴνα, φησὶν, εἰν παρῶσιν οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις,  
 βουλευσθῆται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιπ-  
 πον, τοῖς οὐπω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκαταλαμβάνων τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ  
 10 ἐπανελθόντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιή-  
 68 σθηθε τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ἦκου οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν  
 παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἐνταῦθ'  
 ἕτερον νικᾷ ψήφισμα Δημόσθενος, ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον  
 5 ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ συμμαχίας βουλευσασθαι,

2. ἰσταμένου: see on § 27. 5.

3. προάγων: Schol. ἐρίγοντο πρό  
 τῶν μεγάλων Διονυσίων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις  
 ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῇ φθεῖφ καλουμένῃ τῶν  
 τραγῳδῶν ἄγων καὶ ἐπίδειξις ὧν μέλλουσι  
 δραμάτων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· δι'  
 ὃ ἐτόμως προάγων καλεῖται. See Müll-  
 ler, *Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 363. Be-  
 sides being the προάγων for the Great  
 Dionysia of that year, the 8th of Ela-  
 phibolion was the festival of Ascle-  
 pius. — ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ: added to empha-  
 size the unsuitness of this festal day  
 for the transaction of business. This  
 festival was not singular in that re-  
 spect. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 12, κατέκλευ-  
 σεν (Alcibiades) εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ  
 ᾗ Πλουτήρια ἦγον ἢ πόλιν, τοῦ ἔδους  
 κεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνί-  
 ζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει· Ἀθηναῖων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδένης σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμή-  
 σαιεν ἂν ᾤσασθαι.

4. τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος: for

the dir. interr. used as the obj. of a  
 partic. attached to the main verb of a  
 declarative sent., cf. Lys. iv. 19, ἀγα-  
 νακτῶ δ' εἰ διὰ δοῦλην ἄνθρωπον περὶ  
 τῶν μεγίστων εἰς κίνδυνον καθέστηκα,  
 τί κακὸν πάποτε τὴν πόλιν εἰργασμένος  
 ἢ εἰς τίνα τῶν πολιτῶν ὀτιοῦν ἐξαμαρ-  
 τῶν; Similar is the common τί μαθῶν,  
 τί παθῶν, GMT. 109 n. 7 b.

7. προκαταλαμβάνων: cf. § 9. 9.  
 Demosthenes' haste was so great that  
 he could not even wait for Philip's  
 ambassadors to appear, before arrang-  
 ing for them.

8. ὑποτεμνόμενος: hamstring is per-  
 haps not too bold for the metaphor.  
 Cf. § 166. 6.

9 f. ἴνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κτλ.:  
 repetition of § 64. 8 with variations.  
 — ἐπανελθόντων πρέσβεων: gen. abs.  
 of time.

§ 68. 2. ἀπεδήμουν: see on § 58. 2.

5. ὑπέρ — περί: cf. ii. 53, 61. See  
 on § 54. 7.



μή περιμέιναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθύς μετὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

- 69 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν παρεληλύθει τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγίγνοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἔν γε τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερῶ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλευσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλεησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι.

7. εὐθύς: i.e. after an interval of three days. In the blooming period of the drama, the Great Dionysia lasted from the 10th to the 15th of Elaphebolion. See Schömann, *Gr. Alt.*, 2d Germ. edit., II. p. 475 ff. — τὰ ἐν ἄστει: added to mark the Great Dionysia in contrast to the Dionysia κατ' ἀγρούς. — τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα: eighteenth and nineteenth, ἐπὶ δέκα being the equivalent of μεσοῦντος μηνός. Cf. II. 61, παράγνωθι δὴ μοι καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους ψήφισμα ἐν ᾧ κελεύει τοὺς πρυτάνεις μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσου (see on § 52. 11) ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαι δύο ἐκκλησίας, τὴν μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, τὴν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, ὀρίζων τὸν χρόνον καὶ προϋφαιρῶν τὰς ἐκκλησίας πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρέσβεις. It was customary to call two assemblies in such negotiations for peace. Cf. II. 61, προγράψαι ἐκκλησίας δύο κατὰ τὸν νόμον. This was the case in the negotiations for an alliance with Corcyra, Thuc. i. 44. 1.

§ 69. 3. δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων: cf.

II. 60, τὸ τῶν συνέδρων δόγμα. Philip finally acknowledged as allies of Athens only those states that were represented in the συνέδριον (cf. § 58. 2).

4. προερῶ: i.e. before we have it read, which occurs after § 70. The same forestalling of the reading of documents occurs in I. 49. — ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης κτλ.: cf. II. 61, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα κελεύει, ᾧ συνεσιεῖν καὶ ἐγὼ ὁμολογῶ, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης μόνον ὑμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, Δημοσθένης δὲ καὶ περὶ συμμαχίας κελεύει.

7. ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω: necessary rather than honorable. H. 645. This judgment corresponds better with the facts of the situation at Athens than the judgment delivered in Dem. XIX. 160, ὅτι οὐκ ἔρ' ἡ πόλις ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡττητο τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀλλὰ Φίλιππος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ὁ πόλιν ὑπὸ χεῖρὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἂν τύχῃ τῆς εἰρήνης, or in Dem. XVIII. 19, Φίλιππος ὁμῶν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγέλατο. See *Introd.* § 16 fin.

ἔπειτα ἀπήντησαν ὀρθῶς ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δω-  
 70 ροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μηνσὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν  
 στήλην ἀναγράφεσθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν  
 ὅρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο τὰ μέγιστα προκαταλαμ-  
 5 βάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἱκανὸν παραγενέσθαι κατασκευά-  
 ζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει κτώ-  
 μενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαίνοντο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ'  
 ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ὃ νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη  
 10 διὰ Δημοσθένην. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγ-  
 ματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

## ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

71 Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ καὶ  
 πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦν-  
 τες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς,

8. τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα: as a reply to this, cf. Dem. xviii. 23, καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τοιούσι.

§ 70. 1. προσέγραψαν: note the force of the prep. This additional provision is not mentioned in the description of the δόγμα συμμάχων, ii. 60. Aeschines emphasizes in each passage what suits his purpose.

4. δύο τὰ μέγιστα: cf. §§ 84, 141. Dem. xx. 10, τρία τὰ μέγιστα ὀνειδῆ κατὰι.—προκαταλαμβάνοντες: cf. §§ 9, 67.

5. τῆς τριμήνου: sc. προθεσμίας (limit), Schol. Cf. Hdt. ii. 124, ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην.

6. ἱκανὸν παραγενέσθαι: i.e. time

sufficient to arrive in Athens. Equiv. to ἱκανὸν ὥστε παραγενέσθαι. Cf. Plato Rep. 373 c, χάρα ἢ τότε ἱκανὴ τρέφειν τοὺς τότε.

9. δ' νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη: the complete isolation of Athens both before and after the peace of Philocrates is attested by Dem. v. 13 ff. Hence Demosthenes lays much stress on his securing an alliance with Thebes, expressing himself in phrases which Aeschines ridicules in § 84. νῦν has no reference to time, but signifies actuality in contrast to a supposed case. Cf. §§ 180, 208.

§ 71. 1. τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι κτλ.: in accord with ii. 61 and Dem. xix. 14.

2. πάντες: hyperbole. Philocrates at least proposed a different and disgraceful kind of peace. Cf. ii. 63, εἰρήνην, αἰσχρὰν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀναξίαν.



ὥς ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον  
 5 εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βουλευέσθαι, ἔσται  
 δὲ κοινὴ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. νῦξ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ  
 παρῆμεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 Δημοσθένης προκαταλαβὼν τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 παραλιπὼν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰρημένων  
 10 εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται 61  
 πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπούσης συμ-  
 72 μαχίας. οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι  
 ὥς εἶπε διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνό-

4. *ἔσται*: indic. retained for greater vividness, with *εἶη* in same const. See GMT. 70, 2, R. 1. In dir. disc. the expression would be *ἔσται* and *ἐστί*. — *οὐκ ἄμεινον*: formula in which there is no comp. force, except as each advantageous course implies comparison. Cf. Thuc. i. 118. 3, *ἐπὶ πρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται*.

5. *παράκλησιν*: cf. *παρακαλοῦντες*, § 58. 5.

8. *οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον*: Dem. xix. 15, 16, accuses Aeschines of using his eloquence on this second day to the harm of Athens. Aeschines, in ii. 66, defends himself by denying that there was any speaking at all on that day. In the passage before us he asserts that the eloquence which wrought the harm was that of Demosthenes himself. What each orator did on that day can hardly be ascertained. Aeschines certainly lies; but that does not prove that Demosthenes tells the truth. Simcox, *ad loc.*, attempts an explanation of Aeschines' contradiction, suggesting that, in the sixteen years' interval, the informal conversation which Demosthenes had with

Amyntor (ii. 67, 68) had grown in Aeschines' mind (like Falstaff's 'men in buckram') into a set speech.

11. *οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν*: cf. ii. 84, *οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν τῶν συμμαχιῶν τοὺς συνεφαπτομένους ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σπένδουσιν τῶν ἱερῶν*. It seems as if in both passages a sense of *οὐ γιγνώσκειν* peculiar to Demosthenes were reproduced. For this sense of *οὐκ εἰδέναι*, determinedly ignore, or have nothing to do with, cf. Dem. xviii. 70, *τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθσιν, οὐδ' εἰ γέγορεν οἶδα*.

§ 72. 1. *ῥῆμα*: phrase. Cf. § 16. 6. *ὄνομα* is used of a single word, as *ἀπορρηξαι*. The distinction is the same as in Plato *Apol.* 17 b *ῥήμασι τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν*. The usage as grammatical terms, *ῥῆμα*, verb, *ὄνομα*, noun, is later. — *μέμνημαι* κτλ.: "this is certainly lying with a circumstance, if no such speech was made either privately or publicly." Simcox, *ad loc.*

2. *ἀηδία*: odiousness of the speaker to Aeschines we can well comprehend, but the word *ἀπορρηξαι*, which excites all this ire, seems harmless. For other criticism of Demosthenes' language by Aeschines, cf. § 166.



ματος, ἀπορρήξαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὴν εἰ-  
 5 ρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρα-  
 καλέσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρωτήματ' ἡρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ  
 ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπο-  
 κρίνασθαι. καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προσ-  
 βιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος  
 73 Φιλοκράτους. ὃ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην  
 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἔπραξαν ἕκτη φθίνοντος τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, πρὶν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους

3. ἀπορρήξαι: wrench off, sc. ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης. εἰρήνη, φιλία, and συμμαχία were usually combined, but exceptions occur. In the Peace of Nicias, the συμμαχία was brought about by separate and later negotiations. Cf. Thuc. v. 23.

4. ἀναμένειν μελλήματα: cf. § 163 fin. Eur. Iph. Aul. 818, τὰ τῶν Ἀτρεΐδων μὴ μένων μελλήματα. — αὐτοὺς: for themselves. Equiv. to ἰδίᾳ.

6. Ἀντίπατρον: of the ambassadors of Philip, the number of whom is not given, Antipater seems to have been the chief. Cf. Dinarch. i. 28, τοῖς πρέσβουσιν τοῖς μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσιν. Acc. to Dem. xix. 69, Parmenio was another.

7. προδιδάξας: this charge throws suspicion on the whole story.

8. τέλος: adv. Cf. § 124. 8. — ἐνίκα: intr. Cf. Soph. Ant. 233, τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν. — προσβιασαμένου: cf. § 93. 4. Demosthenes' eloquence forces through the bill which Philocrates had proposed. (See on § 62. 9.) Thus Demosthenes is made equally responsible with Philocrates for the consequences.

On this point of excluding the allies from the treaty, the reply of Demosthenes, xviii. 22, 23, 24, is a masterly oratorical stroke. The dilemma of § 24, which Aeschines cannot evade without accusing the Athenians of a deed of Eurybatus, is very effective.

c) Demosthenes is responsible for the exclusion of Cersobleptes also. §§ 73-75.

Like the preceding point, this is something which Demosthenes in xix. charges upon Aeschines, and which Aeschines, not content with simple defence (cf. ii. 92), charges upon Demosthenes himself both in his reply on that occasion (cf. ii. 83 ff.) and in the present oration, contradicting himself badly in the two accounts of the affair. Cersobleptes' fate was probably the result of Demosthenes' miscalculation. See Introd. § 18.

§ 73. 2. τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον: the borders of Thrace.

3. ἕκτη κτλ.: i.e. the 25th. See on § 27. 5. Between this date and the ἐβδόμῃ of ii. 90 there is an irreconcilable contradiction. — πρὶν . . . ἀπαίρειν: cf. ii. 82, ἥδη δ' ἡμῶν κεχειροτονη-

5 Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος  
 ὑμῖν οὐτοσὶ ῥήτωρ δις ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐξόν  
 μηδὲ ἄπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν.  
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἑκτῇ λέγω, καθεζόμενος  
 βουλευτῆς ὢν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἑκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην  
 74 μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. λανθάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐν ψηφίσ-  
 ματι παρεγγράφας, ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, "ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοὺς  
 ὅρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων." παρὰ δὲ Κερσο-  
 5 βλέπτου σύνοδος οὐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνε-  
 δρεύοντας ὁμνῦναι τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα  
 75 ἐξέκλησε τῶν ὁρκων. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι,  
 τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων.

μένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὕτω δ' ἀπηρε-  
 των, ἐκκλησία γίνεταί, ἐν ᾗ Δημοσθένης  
 λαγχάνει προεδρεύειν.

6. ῥήτωρ: with fine irony — "this fellow who shows his hatred of Philip and Alexander in words." Cf. § 55. 4. — δις ἐπρέσβευεν: since Demosthenes affirms that from the second day of the great discussion the venality of Aeschines was clear as daylight, the question is certainly natural why he ever went on a second embassy as his colleague. Demosthenes' answer, that he went to ransom some Athenian prisoners, xix. 172, cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory. The strong imprecation which he there utters, ἐξώλης ἀπολομένη καὶ προώλης, betrays his sense of the weakness of his defense. — ἐξόν: sc. πρεσβεῦσαι εἰς Μακεδονίαν. Acc. abs. G. 278, 2; H. 793.

7. καταπτύειν: strongest expression of contempt. Cf. ii. 23. Dem. xviii. 43, 200; xxi. 137. Dinarch. i. 15.

8. καθεζόμενος ἐκ παρασκευῆς: sc. ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος: to be joined also with εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Demosthenes was presiding officer in the Ecclesia (ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων). See on § 2. 3. For the same phrase, cf. § 3. 5. For the frequency of the charge, see on § 3. 4.

§ 74. 2. παρεγγράφας: note the force of the preps. Cf. ii. 76, 177. — ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας: i.e. Demosthenes acting as presiding officer. — ἀποδοῦναι δέ: in quoting sections from a law or a document δέ is often retained. Cf. § 44. 11.

4-7. At variance with ii. 84, where Demosthenes is said to have tried to exclude the envoy from Cersobleptes, but to have been coerced by the popular clamor.

§ 75. 2. ὁ ταῦτα γράφων: for the impf. partic., see GMT. 16, 2; H. 856 a. For a similar juxtaposition of this with the aor. partic., cf. Dem. xix. 303, 304, τίς δ' τοὺς μακροὺς λόγους δημογυρῶν, τίς δ' πείσας ὑμᾶς.



## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Καὶ τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας.

5

## ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλόν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων  
πραγμάτων φυλακή· ἀκίνητον γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐ συµμετα-  
πίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε  
τῷ δήμῳ, ὁπόταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν  
10 πονηροὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιούντας εἶναι χρηστούς.  
76 Ὑπόλοιπον δέ μοι τὴν κολακείαν διεξελθεῖν. Δημο-  
σθένης γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας οὐ-  
δεμίαν φανήσεται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ

6. καλόν . . . καλόν: at the close of the argument on this point, the climax of which has been the reading of the documents, the feeling of triumph breaks out in ἐπαναδίπλωσις. The praise of public documents closes the subject with a veritable *coup de théâtre*. It is a great improvement on the similar praise of public documents in II. 89. For the gender of καλόν, see G. 138, n. 2 c; H. 617. This usage is particularly adapted to sententious phrases.

7. πραγμάτων φυλακή: preservation of the records of state transactions, i.e. in the Metroon. See Schömann, I. p. 385. — συµμεταπίπτει: cf. Polyb. ix. 23, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων ἔθῃ ταῖς τῶν προσεστώτων διαφοραῖς συµμεταπίπτειν.

8. τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν: straight blow at Demosthenes the 'turn coat,' and side thrust at his λιποταξία. See on § 275 in.. — ἀπέδωκε: gnomic aor. Cf. Dem. xxiii. 56, τοὺς ἐχθρὰ ποιοῦντας ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει κολάζειν ἀπέδωκεν δ νόμος.

9. συνιδεῖν: have insight into. Cf. [Dem.] lxx. 18, δεινὴ φύσιν μικρῶν παιδῶν συνιδεῖν εὐπρεπῇ. — τοὺς πάλαι

πονηροὺς: cf. Lys. xxx. 1, ἐὰν ἀποφαίνωσι τοὺς φεύγοντας πάλαι πονηροὺς ὄντας.

10. ἐκ μεταβολῆς: cf. § 64. 3.

d) The bad character of Demosthenes. §§ 76-78.

§ 76. 1. κολακείαν: cf. § 61. 1.

3. προεδρίαν: i.e. the seats of honor, directly in front of the orchestra. Places were here usually reserved for foreign ambassadors. Perhaps the reprehensible feature in Demosthenes' conduct was not leaving this to the Macedonian proxenus, who would usually attend to such offices for his guests. See Böckh, Bk. II. c. xvi. On the whole, this attempt to magnify what must have been a usual courtesy, possibly too ostentatiously performed, into a grave offence must have produced a poor effect. It is a cheap appeal to anti-Macedonian prejudice, coming with bad grace from Aeschines, who could secure respect only by planting himself squarely on a pro-Macedonian policy as the only wise thing for Athens, first, last, and always. He met the



τότε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε  
 5 καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ  
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡγείτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον,  
 ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην. καὶ ὅτ'  
 ἀπῆσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρικὰ καὶ προὔ-  
 πεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. ἵνα  
 10 δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λαβέ μοι τὸ περὶ τῆς  
 προεδρίας.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

77 Οὗτος τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικούτος τὸ  
 μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χα-

usual fate of those who try to ride  
 two horses. See *Intro.* § 26.

Demosthenes gives, *xviii.* 28, *xix.*  
 235, a perfectly adequate defense on  
 this point. It must, however, be con-  
 fessed that, at the time referred to, he  
 was manifestly not yet discontented  
 with the peace, and probably enter-  
 tained great expectations from the  
 second embassy. See *Intro.* § 18.

4. πρῶτον καὶ μόνον: see on § 77.  
 11.

5. προσκεφάλαια: cf. *ii.* *iii.* — φοι-  
 νικίδας: purple cloths spread on the  
 stone seats and under the feet.

6. ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: on account of so  
 many plays being crowded into one  
 day, the theatrical exhibitions began  
 very early. This is attested for come-  
 dies in *Xen. Oec.* 3. 7; for tragedies  
 in *Ar. Av.* 787 f. — ἡγείτο: Aeschines  
 displays a fondness for the impf. Cf.  
 §§ 43, 72, 82, 86, 91, 96, 116, 123, 124,  
 181, 183.

7. συρίττεσθαι: considering the  
 liveliness and freedom of an Athe-  
 nian audience, it would be strange if,  
 in the excited condition of the public  
 mind, something did not happen on  
 the entrance of the Macedonian en-

voys that might give color to this  
 charge. What was intended for the  
 hated Macedonians might, however,  
 be maliciously construed as applying  
 to Demosthenes.

8. τρία ζεύγη: presumably the  
 number of the envoys, as Demosthe-  
 nes was on horseback. Cf. *ii.* *iii.*,  
*συμπαρῆει ἐφ' ἵππου*. Besides Antipa-  
 ter and Parmenio (see on § 72. 6) no  
 other name is given except in the  
 untrustworthy second hypothesis to  
*Dem. xix.*, where we find the name  
 of Eurylochus.

10. ἵνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω:  
 with a similar phrase in §§ 176, 190;  
*ii.* 118, the speaker withdraws from  
 the temptation to indulge in a discus-  
 sive treatment of some detail. See  
*Intro.* § 29.

§ 77. 1 ff. The contrast between  
 the excessive flattery bestowed on  
 the living Philip and the unseemly  
 joy at his death is intended to make  
 Demosthenes utterly contemptible.

2. Χαριδήμου: the typical merce-  
 nary general of the time, bold, un-  
 stable, at the service of the highest  
 bidder. After making the Athenians  
 alternately plague and profit, from

- ριδῆμον πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν  
 συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο, ὥς οὐ παρὰ  
 5 Χαριδήμον τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φη-  
 σὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέ-  
 γειν, ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτη-  
 κυίας, πρὶν καὶ πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι,  
 10 στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει  
 καὶ παρενόμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν

about 352 B.C. he became permanently attached to their cause. His greatest distinction perhaps is that he was the occasion of Dem. xxiii. (*Against Aristocrates*), which furnishes an interesting picture of this wandering, lawless pirate. After Chaeronea we lose sight of him, except as he appears in Plut. *Phoc.* 16. The occasion of his being in the vicinity of Philip at the time of the latter's death is unknown. Alexander certainly regarded him as one of his most formidable antagonists, for when he withdrew his demand for the delivery of Demosthenes and the other anti-Macedonian orators, he insisted upon the banishment of Charidemus. Cf. Arr. *An.* i. 10. 6.

4. συμπλάσας ἐνύπνιον: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 21, ὡς ὕναρ ἑωρακός. Plutarch, i.e., repeats with specifications the story here given.

6. οὓς: obj. of ἐπιορκῶν, as well as subj. of διαλέγεσθαι. — μεθ' ἡμέραν . . . νύκτωρ: cf. Antipho, v. 44, νύκτωρ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν. — ἐπιορκῶν: concessive.

8. ἐβδόμην: for the use of the ordinal, see Kr. *Spr.* 46, 3, 1.

9. πενθῆσαι: the usual time of mourning was 30 days. Cf. Lys. i. 14, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνεώτος οὕτω τριά-

κονθ' ἡμέρας. During this period the mourners wore dark clothing, dispensed with all ornaments, abstained from amusements, and cut their hair. Cf. Isae. iv. 7. Lys. xiii. 40. — τὰ νομιζόμενα: with especial reference to the ceremony of solemn sacrifice on the 9th day after the burial, which occurred the 3d day after death (cf. τὰ ἐντα, § 225. 7); including, however, the offerings made on the 30th day, τριακάδες. See Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 293. The πρόθεσις, the ἐκφορά, the χοαὶ at the grave, and the τριτά, Demosthenes had, of course, duly performed.

10. ἐβουθύτει: Solon forbade the sacrifice of oxen at funerals. Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 21, ἐναγίζειν δὲ βοῦν οὐκ εἵλασεν. Such sacrifices were associated rather with the joyful festivals.

11. παρενόμει: pregnant signification. "He not only transgresses Solon's laws but disregards the laws of decency, the ἔγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα." Plutarch (*Dem.* 22), though censuring the act in other respects, approves this forgetting of domestic loss in considerations of state. See on § 52. 4 f. The parallel with Brutus is obvious. — μόνην καὶ πρώτην: constant combination, sometimes in



78 πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας. καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα  
 ὀνειδίξω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ  
 πονηρὸς πατὴρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστός,  
 οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων  
 5 οὐδέποτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσαιο τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους,  
 οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἶκος φαῦλος, οὐδέποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδο- 65  
 νίᾳ καλὸς καγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον  
 μετήλλαξεν.

79 Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἦλθε τῶν πραγμάτων,  
 οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς, καὶ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ

inverted order. Cf. § 76. Dem. v. 5; xv. 5; xix. 302; xxxvi. 30. The illogicalness of the formula is ridiculed in Luc. *Demion*. 29, καὶ μὴν, ὦ Ἀγαθόκλεις, εἰ μὲν πρῶτος οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος οὐ πρῶτος.

§ 78. 2. *ὀνειδίξω, ἐξετάζω*: the *δυνατοτέρων* emphasizes the contrast. Cf. *Lys.* xxx. 21, ὅταν μὲν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς ποιῶμεν, ἅπαντα τὰ πατρια θύεται, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατὰ τὰς στήλας ὡς οὗτος ἀνέγραψε πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καταλύεται. — *μισότεκνος*: joined with πατήρ.

3. *δημαγωγός*: in a favorable sense. The sentiment here expressed, that a good record in private life is the best guarantee for a faithful administration of public affairs, is a frequently recurring one. Cf. i. 28, εἴ τις, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου δεῖ τιμᾶν τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰς τοὺς τοῖς φαῦλος, τί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πείσονται ἄλλοτριοι καὶ ἡ πόλις. *Soph. Ant.* 881 f., ἐν τοῖς γὰρ οἰκελοῖσιν ὅστις ἐστ' ἀνὴρ χρηστός, φανεῖται κἂν πόλει δίκαιος ὢν. 1 *Ep. Tim.* 3. 6, εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστήναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;

4. ὁ μὴ στέργων: attrib. partic. with the force of a cond. rel. sent. G. 283, 4; H. 1025 a. Note the close

similarity of lines 4, 5 to the passage quoted above from i. 28.

6 ff. One of Aeschines' best sententious utterances. Thirteen years before, he had uttered a similar sentiment in his own defence. Cf. ii. 152, οὐ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία κακοὺς ἢ χρηστοὺς ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις. The present application is more effective in every way, except that the allusion to Macedonia has a little the appearance of being 'lugged in.' The effect is greatly enhanced by the paranomasia in *τρόπον, τόπον* (cf. § 212. 11), the effect of which might be reproduced in Eng. by "disposition, position." The similar passage in *Lycurg.* 69, οὐ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξαν, lacks the sharpness thus secured here. The sentiment reappears in Horace's familiar line, *Caelum non animus mutant qui trans mare currunt* (*Epist.* i. 11. 27).

5) *Second Period.* *Demosthenes' public life during the peace.* §§ 79-105.

a) *His change of purpose and its consequences.* §§ 79-83.

§ 79. 1. *μεταβολήν*: cf. 64. 3. Dem. xix. 202, ἀκούω αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγώ



αἴτιον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγῆνται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀτυχίαν ὁ μιὰρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέ-  
80 βληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως ἄξιόν ἐστω ἀκοῦσαι. ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν παρήλθε Φίλιππος καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν Φωκεύσι πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δέ, ὥς τόθ' ὑμῶν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ  
5 καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγῆσατε, ἐν

πάντων ὧν κατηγορῶ κοινῶνς γέγονα καὶ συνήρεσκε ταῦτά μοι καὶ συνέπρατον αὐτῷ, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβλημαι καὶ κατηγορῶ. — πραγματῶν: *political activity*; a meaning common in Demosthenes, as in XVIII. 122, τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι. For this meaning of the verb πράττειν, cf. Dem. XVIII. 4, 11, 53 etc.

3. τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων: Aeschines himself repudiates this argument in II. 6, παράδοξος δέ μοι κακείνους ὁ λόγος ἐφάνη καὶ δεινῶς ἄδικος, ὅθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπηρώτα εἰ οἶδν τ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει Φιλοκράτους μὲν θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι, ἐμοῦ δ' ἀπογνῶναι. Philocrates was not prosecuted for πολιτεύματα but for δωροδοκία. Cf. Dem. XIX. 114. Hyperid. III. 39, χρήματα λαμβάνοντα.

4. ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας: the impeachment was set on foot by Hyperides, 343 B.C. Philocrates did not stand trial. Cf. II. 6.

5. ἐπέστη: came (suddenly) forward. Cf. I. 114, ἐπιστὰς τῇ κατηγορίᾳ.

§ 80. 3. παραδόξως: i.e. contrary to the illusion which Aeschines had produced in the minds of the Athenian people in regard to Philip's supposed anti-Theban policy. Cf. Dem. XVIII.

35, 36. A little more indignation at Philip here would have been to Aeschines' credit. Cf. Dem. XIX. 109, 110, 112. — ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε: cf. Dem. IX. 19, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίσσομαι. The Phocian army abandoned the struggle in a convention with Philip on the 22d of Scirophorion, six days after the report of the embassy in Athens. The destruction of the Phocian towns followed immediately. Cf. Dem. XIX. 58-60. See App.

4. περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ: the old hatred of Thebes cherished by the Athenians since the Persian war was intensified by the ὕβρις Δευκτρική. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 18, ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτὰ διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθε σωθῆναι, Θηβαίους δ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν ἐψησθῆναι παθοῦσιν.

6. ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκευαγωγῆσατε: for the same formula, cf. II. 139. Dem. XVIII. 36. The capitulation of the Phocian army and the severe measures of Philip immediately set on foot against the Phocian towns, were the cause of this terror. In eleven days from the announcement at Athens of the ratification of the peace, the Athenians in terror adopt

ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὴν εἰρήνην  
πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλο-  
κράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι, συνέβη ἐν τοῖς αὐ-  
τοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεισθαι τι Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην  
σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆ-  
ναι. τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύ-  
των νοσημάτων αὐτῷ ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλευέτο καὶ  
ἡγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου  
κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως

these measures which are as good as a new declaration of war.

7. τὴν εἰρήνην πρεσβεύσαντες: for the same combination, cf. Dem. xix. 134, 273.

8 f. διαφερόντως Δημοσθένης: pure fiction. Demosthenes came easily into power by reason of his protest against the conduct of his fellows on the second embassy. See Introd. § 20.

§ 81, 1. συνέβη: beginning of the principal clause after *ὥς*, § 80, 1.

3. Insinuation of rivalry in bribetaking, the point of which is broken by the clause inserted in the Mss. after *ἐβουλευέτο* line 5, but suppressed by W. See App.—*ὑπὲρ ὧν*: for *ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν*. G. 152; H. 996.

4. ταραχῆς: disturbing cause. Cf. Isae. iv. 5, αὐτοῖς ταραχῆς ἐγγιγνομένης, — συμφύτων: inmate; equiv. to *ἐμφυτα* in Dem. xviii. 203, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἐμφυτα. Cf. Plut. Pelop. 6, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πατριον καὶ σύμφυτον τὸ φιλό-  
ανθρωπον. Lys. x. 28, οὕτω σύμφυτος αὐτοῖς δειλία. The hereditary baseness of Demosthenes springing from the taint in his blood is here referred to. Cf. § 172, 2. An equally unfavorable judgment of Demosthenes is found

in Theopompus, Frag. 106, ἀβέλαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ μήτε πράγμασι μήτ' ἀνθρώποις πολλὸν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενον.

6. συμπρεσβευόντων: impf. partic. See on § 75, 2. The aor. is used § 80, 8 with little difference of meaning. The representation that Demosthenes only turned on his colleagues when it was necessary in order to escape personal blame is contrary to Dem. xix. 31-46, the circumstantial and interesting account of Demosthenes' denunciations of his colleagues before the senate and the assembly immediately after the return from Macedonia. If that description is false, it is 'the lie circumstantial.' Acc. to Dem. xix. 174 Demosthenes did denounce his colleagues still earlier, in Macedonia, but did not refuse to join in the ratification of the peace. See Introd. § 18. — καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου: an unfortunate combination, suggesting that the other ambassadors made common cause with Philip.

7. Φιλοκράτην προδήλως: Philocrates' guilt was so little disguised that Demosthenes' accusation would be sure to ruin him. Actually Hy-



ἀπολείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκμήσειν καὶ προδότης τ' ὢν τῶν φίλων 82 καὶ πονηρὸς πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἡσυχίᾳ ἀσμένως παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριὼν ἀρχὰς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου 5 καὶ ταραχῆς. οὗτός ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανιάδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον. καὶ εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περι-

perides and not Demosthenes was the accuser of Philocrates. But that Demosthenes had some part in the trial is shown by Dem. xix. 116 ff.

8. κινδυνεύειν: be put in jeopardy. This seems to be an allusion to the trial on the Embassy, 343 B.C., in which Demosthenes accuses others besides Aeschines by implication and also in his speech. See *Intro.* § 21.

9, 10. For the same expression of the absurdity of a scoundrel in private relations proving a good public man, see on § 78. 3. Theramenes' course is similarly described in *Lys.* xii. 67, βουλόμενος τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλῆθει δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον φιλάττους ὄντας αὐτῷ κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν.

§ 82. 2. οἱ προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἡσυχίᾳ: an allusion to the war-party led by Hegesippus. See *Intro.* § 19. For the form of expression, cf. *Plut. Nic.* 9, οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ἦσαν.

3. τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον: with similar bitterness *ii.* 8, μόνος δ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φαίνεται κηδεμὼν τῆς πόλεως Δημοσθένης, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προδόται.

4. ἐνεδίδου: kept furnishing.

6. ἐξευρὼν κτλ.: bold disparagement of places, some of which, as Doriscus (cf. *Hdt.* vii. 59, 108), from their position on the Thracian coast, were of importance to Philip. For a reply, cf. *Dem.* xviii. 27, where this disparagement is fitly characterized with the word *δίσυρρε*. That Demosthenes was thoroughly impressed with the importance of these places appears from his numerous allusions to them. Cf. *xviii.* 29, 70; *viii.* 64; *ix.* 15; [*vii.* 37]. Philip, driving out the weak Athenian garrisons, occupied these places before his ratification of the peace. See *Intro.* § 18. The occupation of these places rounded out his conquest of the kingdom of the Thracian Cersobleptes. The Chersonese with the exception of Cardia was left in the possession of Athens.

7. Μυρτίσκην: contemptuous turning of *Μυρτηνός*, *Dem.* xviii. 27, into a diminutive, suggested by *Δορίσκον* καὶ *Ἐργίσκην*. — Γανιάδα: prob. a similarly sarcastic duplication of *Γάνος*, as if one were to indulge in the contemptuous jingle "Windsor, Pindsor, Dindsor."

8. φέρων: with verbs of motion implying impetuosity. Cf. §§ 90, 143.



έστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι πρέσβεις  
 10 Φίλιππος, καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ  
 83 πέμποι, κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἄλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις. εἰ δὲ  
 ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν  
 ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίπ-  
 πῳ. Ἀλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν,  
 εἰ δίδωσιν ἄλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερό-  
 μενος. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετ' Ἀριστο-  
 δήμου εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας

146; i. 175; ii. 63. Similarly the mid. is used § 89. 3. *Ildt.* vii. 210, ὡς δ' ἔπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι.

10. *καταφρονεῖν*: there was prob. too much truth in what served the war-party at that time as a rallying cry, "Philip is treating us with contempt." *Cf.* [Dem.] vii. 17, εἰ μὴ ὡμῶν μὲν καταφρονεῖ, and *Id.* 29, ἄλλ' οὐ σφόδρα καταφρονηκέναι.

11. *κατασκόπους*: possibly a reference to Anaxinus. *Cf.* § 223. Dem. xviii. 137, Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ.

§ 83. 2. *ἴση καὶ ὁμοία*: *fully impartial*. For the same combination, *cf.* Thuc. i. 27. 1, iv. 105. 2, v. 27. 2. [Dem.] xxv. 16. *Ildt.* ix. 7, *συμμάχους* ἐκ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ποιήσασθαι.

3. *ἐγκλημάτων*: *differences*, such as sprang up immediately after the peace. *E.g.* the Athenians wished to amend the treaty itself, so as to keep a claim on Amphipolis, changing *ἐκατέρους* ἔχειν ἂν ἔχουσιν ἰο *ἐκατέρους* ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν. *Cf.* [Dem.] vii. 18, 26. — *κριτὴν ἴσον*: the smaller states would not dare to arbitrate against Philip.

4. Ἀλόνησον: this island, being an ἀρχαῖον κτῆμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, was allowed by them to become and remain a pirates' nest. Philip cleared

and occupied it with a garrison. In reply to the loudly expressed grievances of the war-party at Athens, he offered to give it up to Athens. But the war-party refused to accept it as a gift, and insisted that Philip should use the word ἀποδοῦναι, making acknowledgment of wrong-doing. — *ἔδιδου*: *offered*. G. 200, n. 2; H. 832.

5. ἀποδίδωσι: *restore*. — *περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος*: this insisting upon the word ἀπὸ seemed to the comic poets of the time a capital joke. *Cf.* Ath. vi. 3. It served Aeschines well to point a thrust at Demosthenes, but an important point of international rights was involved in it. [Dem.] vii. treats the subject in *extenso*, taking its title therefrom.

6. τοὺς μετ' Ἀριστοδήμου: reference to an otherwise unknown freebooter. The incursion was prob. in connection with that of Callias of Chalcis referred to in Philip's letter, § 5, Καλλίας τόνινον ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῷ Παγασίτῃ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦμένας ἔλαβεν ἅπασας. This getting Aristodemus crowned is put as the final act of hostility to Philip that virtually broke the peace. For Demosthenes' splendid reply, *cf.* Dem. xviii. 70-73.

ληστεύσαντας τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατεσκεύασεν.

84 Ναὶ ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἄδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὡς αὐτός φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε τῇ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ταῦτα τρία τὰ μέγιστα ἡδίκησθε καὶ μάλιστα ἡγνοήκατε. σπεύδων δ' εἰς 5 πῆν περὶ τῆς θαυμαστῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν' ἐφέξῃς λέγω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.

85 Ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδεῶς, τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ

8. τὴν συμφορὰν: i.e. Chaeronea; with τὸν πόλεμον, *hysteron proteron*.

b) Criticism of Demosthenes' Euboean policy. §§ 84-105.

Demosthenes' reply, xviii. 95 ff., is couched as if Aeschines had coupled some attack on the Byzantines with this matter, prob. indicating some change here from the oration as delivered. On Euboean affairs, see Grote, XI. c. 88, pp. 143 ff. Schäfer, II. pp. 73 ff.

84. 1. ναὶ ἀλλὰ: cf. § 22. 1. Here the supposed objection is made to appear as a foolish partisan boast. — χαλκοῖς καὶ ἄδαμαντίνοις: lit. bronze and steel, instead of the usual λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι: here equiv. to no mere material walls. Cf. Dem. xviii. 299, οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. Aeschines may have chosen the form of his expression after having heard the above passage. See Introd. § 28.

2. τῇ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ: Athens after the Peace of Philocrates was more than ever isolated in Greece. See on § 70. 9. How dangerous it was in this condition to pursue a course of hostility to Philip, Demosthenes prob. felt more keenly than the other leaders of the war-party. His first endeavor was to secure allies by whom Athens should be covered as by bulwarks. Two such great bulwarks were Euboea and, most of all, Thebes.

4. μάλιστα ἡγνοήκατε: you have been in the highest degree callous to it. — σπεύδων κτλ.: attempt to put the jurors in a state of expectancy of something better yet to come. Cf. ii. 44. Dem. xviii. 11 etc. The promise is fulfilled in §§ 141 ff.

5. θαυμαστῆς: the contempt with which Demosthenes' chief exploit as a statesman is here met in advance is as unbecoming as Demosthenes' slur on Aeschines' military service. Cf. Dem. xix. 113, αὐτὸς οἶμαι θαυμάσιος στρατιώτης, ὦ Ζεῦ.

§ 85. 1. ἡδικημένοι: concessive.

2. Μνησάρχου: his offence is not



Ταυροσθένους πατρός, οὗς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμισσωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὠρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἠθβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πάντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους ἠθβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῇ.

known. It was prior to that of Themison, and prob. subsequent to the battle of Leuctra, which introduced such confusion into the Second Athenian Confederacy.

3. οὗς οὗτος νυνὶ κτλ.: Callias and Taurosthenes, after following in the footsteps of their father, and working against the Athenians in connection with the revolt of Euboea and the battle of Tamynae, 350 B.C., came over to their side, and by the influence of Demosthenes received Athenian citizenship, perhaps subsequent to Chaeronea when they were exiles. The entanglement of Euboean relations gave a good opportunity for the common charge of venality. Cf. § 86. Dinarch. i. 44.

4. Θεμισσωνος: tyrant of Eretria, who, in time of peace, 366 B.C., seized Oropus from the Athenians, and turned it over to the Thebans. Cf. ii. 164. Dem. xviii. 99. After Chaeronea Philip restored this to Athens. Cf. Paus. i. 34. 1, κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως, πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας ἐλὼν ἔδωκε φσιον.

7. ἠθβαῖοι κτλ.: the Thebans fo-

mented party strife in the Euboean cities, and the Athenians, when one party invoked their aid, at the instigation of Timotheus, decided to interfere, and saved Eretria (Chalcis and Carystus making common cause with it), 357 B.C. Cf. Dem. viii. 74. Τιμῶθεός ποτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν ὡς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοῖς Εὐβοίαις σφίσειν.

8. ἐν πάντε ἡμέραις: cf. Dem. xxii. 14, ἴσθ' ὅτι πρῶτην Εὐβοεῦσι ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ ἠθβαίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεπέμψατε. Such expressions resting on no definite computation find an analogy in 'The Seven Days' War' (of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1806). Demosthenes often points with pride to this expedition. See Schäfer, I. p. 144, note 1.

10. ἀφήκατε: form rare in prose. —γενόμενοι: concessive. The Athenians might have been expected to arrange Euboean affairs to suit themselves.

11. ἀπέδοτε: see on § 83. 5.

12. παρακαταθεμένοις: see on § 8. 2.

13. τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν: equiv. to μνησικακεῖν, Dem. xviii. 94, 96, 99, the brilliant passage in which



86 ναι. καὶ τηλικαῦθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ παθόντες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς  
οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τά-  
χιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες τοὺς  
μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιούνθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι  
5 φίλοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν καὶ  
τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλλομεν, ἐνταῦθα  
Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθαρνῶν ἐνεκ-  
87 μίαζεν, ὁρῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς δεινὰς  
δυσχωρίας κατακεκλημένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην οὐκ  
ἦν ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἐλπίς οὐτ' ἐκ γῆς οὐτ' ἐκ  
θαλάττης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας στρατόπε-  
5 δον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμφάμενος,

Demosthenes is eulogizing this same forbearance on the part of Athens.

§ 86. 2. τὰς ὁμοίας ἀπέδοσαν: *re-*  
*turned like for like.* χάριτας is unusual  
in this formula. Cf. Hdt. vi. 21, πα-  
θοῦσι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων  
οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην συβάρηται. iv.  
119, vi. 62, ix. 78.

3. Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες: this ex-  
pedition, conducted by Phocion, 350  
B.C., was highly discreditable to Ath-  
ens. Plutarch was tyrant of Eretria.  
The popular party supported by Cal-  
lias and Taurosthenes tried to eject  
him. When Plutarch appealed to  
Athens for help, Eubulus persuaded  
the Athenians to embrace this oppor-  
tunity to secure the possession of  
Euboea. The popular party aimed  
at absolute independence, and by their  
success the island would be lost to  
Athens. But how much better a sin-  
cere ally than an untrustworthy de-  
pendent! Callias was a high-minded  
patriot, and the treachery of Plutarch  
was a fitting reward to the Athenians.  
Demosthenes justly takes credit to  
himself for having opposed this ex-

pedition. Cf. Dem. v. 5, πρῶτος καὶ  
μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντείπων. In this con-  
nection he was assaulted by Midias.  
Cf. Dem. xxi. 110, Πλούταρχος ὁ τοῦ-  
του ξένος καὶ φίλος, and 200, Μείδιος  
Πλουτάρχου προξενεῖ, τὰ πόρρητα οἶδεν,  
ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ.

4. ἀλλ' οὖν: see on ἀλλ' οὖν, § 11. 8.

5. Ταμύνας: cf. Harpocr. s.v. Ταμύ-  
ναι: πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ  
τῇ Ἐρετριῶν αἱ Ταμύναι, ἐνθα καὶ ἱερὸν  
Ἀπόλλωνος.

7. ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθαρνῶν ἐνεκ-  
μίαζεν: virtual repetition of § 5. 3, for  
the bestowal of citizenship would in-  
variably be accompanied by some hon-  
orable mention. By the omission of  
some such word as ὑστερον, the praise  
of Demosthenes is maliciously spoken  
of as if contemporary with Callias' al-  
leged treachery. It is to be re-  
marked, however, that Callias was an  
open and honorable enemy of Athens.

§ 87. 1. εἰς δεινὰς δυσχωρίας: cf.  
Plut. Phoc. 12, καὶ τινα λόφον χαράδρᾳ  
βαθεῖα τῶν περὶ τὰς Ταμύνας ἐπιπέδων  
ἀποκρηπτόμενον καταλαβάν.

5. παρὰ Φιλίππου: Philip had for

ὁ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας προσ-  
 γελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ'  
 88 ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀναιρήσουντες. καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις  
 ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι  
 καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ  
 τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρα-  
 5 τήσαντες ὑποσπόνδους ἀφείσαν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύ-  
 νευσεν ἂν ἡ πόλις τὰ αἰσχιστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυ-  
 χῆσαι κατὰ πόλεμόν ἐστι δεινότατον, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς  
 ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίους διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλα-  
 σίαν εἰκὸς ἐστὶν εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς  
 89 τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς. τυ-

some time been mingling indirectly in the party strifes of Euboea to further his own interests in the island. Cf. Dem. xviii. 71.

6. ὁ τ' ἀδελφός: added with apparent carelessness as an afterthought. — προσγελῶν: used Plato *Rep.* viii. 566 d, of the wheedling manner adopted by a tyrant while gaining his power.

7. τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους: the trained soldiers of the period, who, in 353 B.C. had coped successfully with Philip.

8. ἡμᾶς: first pers., as in § 85. 5 f., because Aeschines was present at the battle. Cf. II. 169 ff. The impassioned utterance of a participant marks the whole passage. — ὡς ἀναιρήσουντες: cf. Xen. *An.* iii. 2. 11, ὡς ἀφανιούτων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας. In each passage ὡς hints at the disappointed expectations of the enemy.

§ 88. 3. καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς: the more important is put first as in § 140. 9. — ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο: fortiter pugnassent. Cf. Hdt. vi. 114, ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθέρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός. On the other hand, ἀνὴρ εἶναι means to be

a man, and not a woman or child. Cf. Thuc. iv. 27. 5, εἰ ἄνδρες εἴεν οἱ στρατηγοί.

4. ἐκ παρατάξεως: after a stubborn fight in line of battle. Cf. § 151. Dinarch. i. 82, τοιοῦτος οὗτος, ἐν μὲν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν οἰκουρός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οἰκοι μένουσι πρεσβευτής, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς δραπέτης ἐστίν. Dem. ix. 49, οὐδὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον.

6. οὐ γὰρ τὸ κτλ.: with this legitimate climax contrast the artificial one, Dem. xviii. 5, πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνει.

8. ἀποτύχῃ: abs.; with gen., §§ 92, 212. — διπλασίαν: i.e. defeat and disgrace.

9. εἰκός: neat rhetorical turn, challenging denial, like "I should suppose."

10. διελύσασθε: the reconciliation and treaty with Euboea followed in 348 B.C. Cf. II. 12. See Schäfer, II. pp. 80, 155. Grote (XI. c. 88, pp. 149 f.) regards the negotiations in 348 B.C. as having proved unsuccessful.



χὼν δὲ συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν [χρόνον] πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα  
 5 συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος. κἀνταῦθα ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιῆει μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ  
 90 τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς ὠνομάζετο. ἀδικήσας δὲ κακῶν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέβαλεν αὐτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις. καταλιπὼν δὲ

ful, the strained relations between Athens and Euboea continuing until the general peace, 346 B.C. Aeschines, after emphasizing the victory of Tamynae, passes over the fact that the expedition ended in the loss of Euboea, and in utter disgrace to Athens. The events of §§ 89, 90 refer to a period after the peace, about 342 B.C. See Schäfer, II, pp. 393 ff., 458.

§ 89. 1. *τυχῶν δὲ συγγνώμης*: Grote (XI. c. 88, p. 147) thinks that this reconciliation of Callias and Athens is a fiction of Aeschines to make peculiarly black the character of the man whom Demosthenes afterwards chose as his *protégé*. Cf. § 97. 2, *Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει*. To the same motive may be attributed Aeschines' silence in regard to Clitarchus of Eretria, who, if the Schol. on Dem. v. 5 is to be trusted, was the head of the movement against Plutarchus.

2. *μικρὸν διαλιπὼν*: cf. §§ 217, 220.

3. *φερόμενος*: see on § 82. 8. Cf. Lycurg. 59, *ἤξει δ' ἴσως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν λόγον φερόμενος*. The word paints the irresistible power of his innate baseness.

5. *συνάγων*: pres. of attempted action, as in the two succeeding par-

tics. GMT. 10, x. 2; H. 825. This attempt to unite the democracies of Euboea under the leadership of Callias, a pet project of Demosthenes, was temporarily successful, but was undone by Chaeronea. — *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*: Aeschines' main perversion of the situation, which is more fairly stated by Dem. XVIII. 301, *ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 81, 87.

6. *αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος*: see on § 3. 10. *τυραννίδα* is to be understood in spite of Dinarch. i. 44 (an echo of Aeschines) as an exaggeration, as is *δυναστεία*, applied to Demosthenes, § 3. 10.

8. *περιῆει*: i.e. "took part in Philip's campaigns." We have no means of testing the truth of this and the following statements.

§ 90. 1. *ἀποδράς*: subsequent to *ἀδικήσας*: more closely joined with *ὑπέβαλεν*, with which it is practically coincident in time. H. 856 b. — *ὑπέβαλεν φέρων*: the prep. suggests *κολακεία*. Cf. §§ 116, 162. Dem. XXIII. 8, *ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπέρχεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν*. The whole expression denotes the recklessness with which the turncoat threw himself into the arms of new patrons.



κακείνους καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, παρ' ὃν ᾧκει, εἰς μέσον ἐμπίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων ἐχθρας  
 5 καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατείας, μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατεῖδε σωτηρίας ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν, εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι· ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς καλύ-  
 91 σαιτε. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρο-

3. τραπόμενος τροπὰς: see on § 2.

4. Cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 23, δευτέρας τροπομένης τροπὰς τοῦ χαμαιλέοντος. Plato *Rep.* 405 c, πάσας στροφὰς στρέφεσθαι (used to designate the tricks employed by a wily speaker to escape an unfavorable verdict of the jury).—τοῦ Εὐρίπου: the sudden turns in the Euripus are matter of common allusion in Greek literature. Cf. Plato *Phaedo*, 90 c, πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐν Εὐρίπῳ ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφεται καὶ χρόνον οὐδένα ἐν οὐδενὶ μένει. Arist. *Eth. N.* ix. 6. 3, μεταρρεῖ ὥσπερ Εὐρίπος. Hyperid. i. *Frug.* v. (Blass. 2d ed.), τούτους (Callias and Taurosthenes) γὰρ ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης Ἀθηναίους εἶναι καὶ χρῆται τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντων μάλιστα. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ οἶμαι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένων εἰκότως φίλους τοὺς ἀπ' Εὐρίπου κέκτηται. Cf. also Livy, xxviii. 6, non septies die, sicut fama fert: sed temere in modum venti, nunc huc, nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte praecipiti devolutus torrens rapitur.

4. παρ' ὃν ᾧκει: this playful geographical justification of the comparison sharpens it to a point.—εἰς μέσον κτλ.: Callias 'fell between two stools.' Possibly geography is still running in the speaker's mind.

5. ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ: expressing the extremity of despair. Cf. Hdt. vii. 213, ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως, ὃ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι. There is also a suggestion of Callias' seeking another market for himself.

7. ἔνορκον λαβεῖν: "trick into an oath"; appos. to ἐλπίδα.

9. καλύσσετε: for discussion of the mood and reading, see GMT. 74, 1 fin.

§ 91. 1. πρέσβεις: at the same time (B.C. 342) ambassadors from Oreus and Eretria, now thoroughly subservient to Macedonia, appeared in Athens, and worked against Callias. Aeschines supported them, demanding that no help be given Chalcis except on the condition that it be enrolled as a member of the Athenian Confederacy. Cf. Dem. xviii. 82, οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλθουν, Ἀισχίνην, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν.

2. τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα: as one who had gained the prize for the δόλιχος (see Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 217), perhaps several times, he would be well known throughout Greece like Philammon. Cf. Dem. xviii. 319. The aor. implies that his victories were a

μήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δήμῳ ἐλπίδας, Δημοσθένης δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. τρία δ' ἦν ἅ ἅμα ἔξεω-  
 5 νεῖτο, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμ-  
 μαχίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέ-  
 ρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἢ τεθνάναι  
 ἐγκαταληφθέντι· τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπε-  
 10 στράτευσον. δεύτερον δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεῦεν Ἀθή-  
 νησι Χαλκιδέας, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις.  
 92 καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας,  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποι-  
 εῖται, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν καὶ πράτ-  
 τειν, ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε  
 5 δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μό-

thing of the past. Cf. Andoc. i. 47, *φρόνιμος ὁ ὀρχησάμενος*.

3. *ἐλπίδας*: insinuation that this is about all that the people ever gets from Demosthenes' policy. Cf. §§ 100. 4, 223. 6. For the sharp antithesis, cf. § 78. 7. In order not to blunt the antithesis *τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν* is allowed to come in apparently as an afterthought. The latter, containing the suggestion that Demosthenes was the head of a clique, was too good to be lost. Cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 17, *τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην*.

8. *ὑπῆρχεν*: *relinquebatur*. Cf. Thuc. vii. 63. 2, *ὑπάρχει δ' ἡμῖν ἔτι νῦν γε τὰ πλείω τῷ πεζῷ ἐπικρατεῖν*. Hdlt. vi. 109, *ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία*.

9. *τηλικαῦται*: *pred.*

11. *τρίτον*: an artificial duplicating of the second item. See on § 34.

4. — *συντάξεις*: milder term employed under the second Athenian confederacy for the older, offensive *φάρος* (cf.

§ 258. 1). Callias aimed to make Chalcis not a member of the Athenian *συνέδριον*, but an ally of Athens on equal terms (cf. *συμμαχία* §§ 91, 92, 93), which would exclude all thought of contributions to Athens.

§ 92. 1. *προαιρέσεων*: *aims*. Cf. Dem. xviii. 93, *ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία*, and *ibid.* 192, *ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας*.

3. *τὰ βέλτιστα* κτλ.: bitter allusion to the words of Ctesiphon's bill. Cf. § 49. 7.

4. *τοὺς καιροὺς*: cf. § 66. 8. Notice the similarity of the first lines of this section to the last lines of § 66. The implication here is that Demosthenes ought to have made capital for Athens out of the perplexity of Callias. But was Athens in no perplexity?

5. *συμμαχία*: *terms of the alliance*. — *ῥῆμα μόνον* κτλ.: the insinuation that Demosthenes inserted a mere phrase (*ῥῆμα*), καὶ Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν



νον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος εὐφημίας ἔνεκα, καὶ Χαλκιδέας  
 93 βοθεῖν, εἴαν τις ἦ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας  
 καὶ τὰς συντάξεις ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἔμελλεν 67  
 ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασιν αἰσχίστας πράξεις  
 γράφων καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοη-  
 5 θείας ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ  
 δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας μετὰ  
 τὰς εὐεργεσίας. ἵνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ-  
 μοι καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

94 Οὕπῳ τούτων τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ τηλικούτοι  
 πεπραμένοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούτου δεινότερον  
 φανήσεται ὁ μέλλω λέγειν. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλ-  
 λίας μὲν ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθέ-

κτλ., as a euphemism, is rather forced. The terms of an alliance generally expressed such mutual obligation. Cf. Thuc. i. 44. 1, ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ Ἀλλήλων βοθεῖν, εἴαν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων συμμάχων and the more detailed description of the συμμαχία, *id.* v. 47.

7. βοθεῖν: appos. to βῆμα.

§ 93. 1. συνεδρίας κτλ.: Aeschines is simply going round and round. Cf. § 91 *fin.*

4. τὰς βοθειας: emphatic by hyperbaton.

5. τοῖς αἰεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων: to whatever Greeks needed it. Cf. § 127. 4. In no way does the superiority of Demosthenes become so apparent as in this attempt of his rival to vilify him. His thoroughly Hellenic policy is nowhere better set forth. Were it not for this passage one might think Demosthenes' report of the narrow-minded utterances of

Aeschines, Dem. xix. 16, μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμᾶς βοθεῖν, ὅς ἂν μὴ πρότερος βεβοηθηκὼς ὑμῖν ᾖ, a slander.

6. συμμαχίας: it seems that Demosthenes regarded his present arrangement, συμμαχία, § 92. 5, as a *modus vivendi*, the definitive treaty to be arranged later.

§ 94. 1. οὕπῳ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν: similar to the Demosthenic formula. Cf. Dem. viii. 30, καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους δεινὸν ἢ οὐ δεινὸν ἐστὶ. ix. 55, καὶ οὐχί πῳ τοῦτο δεινόν, καί περ ὃν δεινόν. xxi. 72, οὐδὲ τὸ τῷ πτεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστὶ δεινόν, καί περ ὃν δεινόν. This attempt to make a separate and larger crime out of the remission of the tribute from Oreus and Eretria is strained. Athens could not adopt a separate policy for each Euboean city. Besides, the ten talents revenue was a fiction. Nothing had come in since 350 B.C. See on § 88. 10.



5 νης δὲ ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ  
 Ὀρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἑρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα,  
 ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελό-  
 μενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους παρ'  
 ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ κα-  
 10 λούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνήγαγον. ὃν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι'  
 οἷων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι.  
 95 ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων ἀλλ' αὐ-  
 τὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους  
 διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. εἶπε γάρ,  
 ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς  
 5 ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ ἀπελογί-  
 ζετο ὅσον ἐκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας  
 καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πό-  
 96 λεις ἀπάσας τετταράκοντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων  
 ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι δὲ πολ-  
 λοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς

7. ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων: attempt to cover a weak case with fervid rhetoric. φρονούντων at the end would have made a climax. For a similar triple asyndeton, cf. i. 108, νόμων ὄντων, ὑμῶν ὁρῶντων, ἐχθρῶν ἐφεστηκότων. Dem. viii. 36, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν ὑμῶν οἰκοι μενόντων, σχολὴν ἀγόντων, ὑγαινότων, δύο ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησεν τυράννους. Like this passage also in the relation of the parties. to the principal verb is Dem. xix. 177, 88 ὑμῶν ὁρῶντων, τῶν καὶ τιμῆσαι κυρίων ὄντων καὶ τούναντίον κολάσαι, τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν.—ἔλαθον: this in its natural place after ὑμῶν would have made a succession of seven short syllables.

9. τὸ καλούμενον: with a slur at the insignificance of the Euboean

council compared with the Athenian.

11. ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι: in this formula the aor. inf., never the pres., is used. Cf. § 79. Isae. ii. 27. Dem. xxi. 8; xxiii. 65, 156; xxiv. 155. For similar combinations, cf. ii. 1. Lys. iii. 5; xix. 59. Isae. viii. 5. Dem. xviii. 6; xxvii. 3, 7. See *Jahrb. für Phil.* 91 (1865), p. 616.

§ 95. 1. 81 ἀγγέλων: with ἀφικνεῖται, as similarly Thuc. i. 90. 1, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἦλθον πρεσβεῖα. Callias appears to have visited the Peloponnesian cities in company with Demosthenes, 341 B.C., to stir them up to war against Philip. His visit to Athens falls, then, in the first months of 340 B.C. See Schäfer, II. p. 454. Grote, XI. c. 90, p. 257.

3. κατεσκευασμένους: for a similar

συντάξεως, ὥστε οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσε-  
 5 σθαι ἀπορίαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ  
 πράξεις πράττειν ἑτέρας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναί  
 τινος μάρτυρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν  
 10 ὀνομαστί παρεκάλει Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἡξίου. ὁ  
 δὲ σεμνῶς πάννυ παρελθὼν τόν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει  
 τό τε ἀπόρρητον προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' ἐκ Πελο-  
 ποννήσου πρεσβείαν ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρ-  
 15 νανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ὑμῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κε-  
 φάλαιον τοῦ λόγου πάντας μὲν Πελοποννησίους ὑπάρ-  
 χειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον  
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα χρημάτων μὲν εἰς  
 20 ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυνναυτουσῶν πληρώματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς  
 98 στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς  
 τούτοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου

charge, cf. § 72. 6. — εἶπε γὰρ κτλ.: with the following report of Callias' speech, colored with irony, cf. Dem. xix. 20, ἔφη γὰρ ἦκειν πεπευκῶς Φίλιππον ἄπανθ' ὅσα συμφέροι τῇ πόλει, καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον μακρὸν ὑμῖν, ὃν κατὰ Θηβαίων εἰπεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔφη, καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀπελογίζετο κτλ.

4. σύνταγμα: equiv. to σύνταξις, §§ 91, 93, 94.

§ 96. 3. βούλεσθαι: inf. by assimilation. GMT. 92, 2, n. 3; H. 947.

4. συντάξις: organization.

6. δι' ἀπορρήτων: by secret negotiations. Cf. II. 120, τοὺς γὰρ μικροπολίτας φοβεῖν τὰ τῶν μειζόνων ἀπόρρητα. Dem. xxi. 200, τὰ ἀπόρρητα οἶδεν, ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ.

7. τινάς: still keeping up the attempt to be mysterious.

§ 97. 2. ὑπερεπήνει: see on § 86. 7.

5. ἀπαγγεῖλαι: make a report on.

6. ὑπάρχειν: were ready (cf. Dem. iv. 17, ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν); to be supplied as copula for the next clause.

7. Ἀκαρνᾶνας: cf. § 256. In Dem. xviii. 237, the speaker omits the Acarnanians from his list of diplomatic triumphs. Probably they disappointed him.

10. μυρίους: Dem. xviii. 237, gives the numbers, after Thebes had joined the alliance, as 15,000 ξένοι and 2000 cavalry ἀνεν τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων. Cf. § 146. 6.

§ 98. 2. τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις: the citizen soldiery, few in numbers compared with the mercenaries, who are here called στρατιῶται, as constituting the bulk of the armies of this time. Demosthenes in iv. 21, insisting upon 500 citizens joining the expedition, speaks as if proposing something very unpalatable.



μὲν πλεῖν ἢ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἐτέ-  
 ρους τοσούτους· δεδόσθαι δὲ ἀπάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγε-  
 5 μονίαν ὑμῖν· πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακράν,  
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός·  
 εἰρήσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλ-  
 θαι πάντας ἦκειν συνεδρεύοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν παν-  
 99 σέληνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν  
 ποιεῖ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζόνες ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται,  
 ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται λέγειν, φοβοῦμενοι τὸν  
 ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν  
 5 μεθ' ὄρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύ-  
 τερον δὲ ἃ οἶδεν οὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα τολμᾷ λέγειν εἰς  
 ὅπου ἔσται, καὶ ὦν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἐώρακεν οὐδεῖς, τού-  
 των τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ μιμού-

5. εἰς μακράν: cf. Dem. xviii. 36, τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταύτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; Ar. Vesp. 453, τάχ' ἡμῖν δώσετον καλὴν δίκην, οὐκέτ' ἐς μακράν. See II. 622.

6. εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα κτλ.: March 9, 340 B.C. See Schäfer, II. p. 454, note 2.

8. συνεδρεύοντος: a congress like that contemplated in § 64. 7 is here meant. Athens is to be primus inter pares. Cf. ἡγεμονίαν, line 4. — εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον: evening of the 14th of Anthesterion. See Schäfer, l.c. Perhaps an interval of two days was allowed, for possible delays from accident, or from confusion of the calendar in different cities.

§ 99. 1. ἄνθρωπος: contemptuous. Cf. § 125. Dem. iv. 50, ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος. xviii. 139. — ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινόν: cf. Plato Rep. 535 b, ἴδιος ἄλλ' οὐ κοινὸς ὦν. This emphasis by contrast is especially common in Herodotus.

Cf. iii. 115, τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἐστὶ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον. In i. 26, οὐ πάλαί, ἀλλὰ πρόφη, the negative is put first with the same effect.

2. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι κτλ.: similar method of heightening a fault in §§ 11, 12. This passage was prob. more effective than that. Aeschines brings against Demosthenes the same charge of lying with circumstance in ii. 153. — ἀλαζόνες: see on § 218. 8.

5. ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος: cf. i. 114, καὶ τὴν ἐξώλειαν αὐτῷ ἐπαρασάμενος (sc. Timarchus). Aeschines may refer here to Dem. xix. 172, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης. Cf. Dem. xviii. 141, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν με ποιῆσαι.

7. καὶ ὦν τὰ σώματα κτλ.: mentions the names of persons who do not exist. Cf. ii. 153, καὶ προστίθῃσιν ἅμα τινὸς ὄνομα πλασάμενος, ὥς ἔτινχε παρών, μιμούμενος τοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγοντας.



μενος τοὺς τάληθῃ λέγοντας. ἥ καὶ σφόδρα ἀξίός ἐστι  
 10 μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα  
 100 διαφθείρει. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα  
 τῷ γραμματεῖ μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενότερον δὲ  
 τῶν λόγων οὓς εἴωθε λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε,  
 μεστὸν δ' ἐλπιδῶν οὐκ ἐσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐ-  
 5 Δέποτε συλληγησομένων. ἀπαγαγὼν δ' ὑμᾶς ἄπωθεν ἀπὸ 68  
 τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμάσας ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας γράφει ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἑρέ-  
 τριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται τῶν Ἑρετριέων, πάνιν γὰρ ἔδει  
 δεηθῆναι, μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ Καλ-  
 10 λία, καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους εἰς Ὀρεὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας,

9. ἥ: *wherefore*. Cf. I. 44. Thuc. i. 11. 1, 25, 3.

10. τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει: that, because Demosthenes perjures himself vehemently and circumstantially, other men's oaths cannot be believed is an 'impotent conclusion,' finding a parallel perhaps in *Ar. Ran.* 1050, ὅτι γενναῖας καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἀλόχους ἀνέπεισας κῶνεια πιεῖν, αἰσχυνθείσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς Βελεροφόντας.

§ 100. 2. μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος: perhaps the compiler of the document inserted in *Dem. xviii.* 181 ff. took his cue from this passage. If we had the actual bill here referred to, it is not unlikely that we should see that Aeschines had here made one of his best hits. Here would be a temptation to parade τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις (*Dem. iv.* 19) against which Demosthenes was hardly proof.

6. ἀνακρεμάσας ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων: cf. *Dem. xix.* 18, ἀναρταμένους ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων. One cannot help admiring the deftness of this malicious stroke at the 'apostle of hope,' whose hopes

were now seen to have belonged to ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων. See on § 91. 3.

7. συστρέψας: intr.; prob. vox militaris. Cf. *Hdt. ix.* 18, συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πυκνῶσαντες ὡς μάχιστα. Here transferred to style it signifies conciseness. After much prolixity Demosthenes came suddenly to the point.

8. πάνιν γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι: *for we had to beg them outright*. This might mean either that the Euboeans looked upon it as so much a matter of course that contributions were to be levied upon them, that it took persuasion to disabuse them of this idea, or that Demosthenes had so craftily worked up the affair that they made a show of reluctance as a part of the farce. The Scholiast's explanation, however, that Aeschines is speaking ironically, is prob. correct; τὸ ἀκούλουσθαι εἰπεῖν ἦν, ὥστε συμμαχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐπάγει παρ' ὑπόνοιαν κατ' εἰρωνείαν· ναί, ἵνα αὐτοὺς παρακαλέσωσι μὴ φέρειν ἔτι τοὺς φόρους ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Καλλίῳ. This tallies well with the bitterness of the whole passage.

οἷτινες δεήσονται τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν  
 101 νομίζειν. κἀνταῦθ' ἀναφαίνεται περὶ πάντ' ὦν ἐν τῷ  
 ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι, γράψας καὶ τὰ πέντε  
 τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιούν τοὺς Ὀρείτας μὴ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ  
 Καλλία διδόναι. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον  
 5 καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς ἀλαζονείας ἀνάγνωθι καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ κλέμματος ἄσαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος  
 ἄνθρωπος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν διατελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ  
 πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

102 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν καὶ  
 τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἠκούσατε, τὰς  
 δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπω-  
 λέσατε.

11. τὸν αὐτὸν κτλ.: no longer  
 ironical; regular formula for an of-  
 fensive and defensive alliance. Cf.  
 Xen. An. ii. 5. 39, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐχ-  
 θροὺς νομίζειν. Thuc. i. 44. 1, iii. 70. 6,  
 iii. 75. 1.

§ 101. 1 ff. See App.

2. πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι: cf. κλέπτων,  
 § 99. 8, κλέμματος, § 100. 6. For the  
 const., cf. Dem. xix. 127, ἔκφρων ἦν  
 καὶ ὅλος πρὸς τῷ λήμματι καὶ τῷ δωρο-  
 δοκῆματι. xviii. 176, ἂν πείσθῃτ' ἐμοὶ  
 καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν  
 περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε.

4. τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς ἀλαζονείας:  
 cf. *seminus*, § 97. 2, ἀλαζονεύεται, § 99.  
 4. Same phrase § 237. 4. It is the  
 grandiloquence with which Demos-  
 thenes parades the empty promises  
 of the Oreites to Athens, to cover up  
 the alienation of the five talents from  
 the Athenian treasury, which Aeschi-  
 nes tries to hit hard. The recurrence

of the phrase line 6, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν  
 κτλ. (cf. § 92. 3) shows that he felt  
 that he had done it. See App.

6. ὃ ὑφείλετο: which he underhand-  
 edly practiced. ὃ is cognate acc.

8. τῷ Ἀθηναίων: added maliciously  
 to the words of the bill (see on § 49.  
 5) because forsooth the action of  
 Demosthenes resulted in profit to  
 anybody rather than the Athenians.  
 See App.

§ 102. An epiphonema in Aeschi-  
 nes' best manner, to the effect of which  
 τὴν πανσέληνον contributes not a little.  
 As to the facts, even if nothing came  
 of the projected congress on the 16th  
 of Anthesterion, the Euboean alliance  
 was a solid service to Athens, to which  
 Demosthenes might well point with  
 pride. Cf. Dem. xviii. 301, ἐκ μὲν  
 θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ibid. §§ 230, 237, 240,  
 241.



103 Ὑπόλοιπον δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅτι λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ τυράννου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ, 5 δι' οὗ καὶ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὀρεϊτῶν καὶ πάντα πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν Χαριγένους υἱὸν τοῦ δυναστεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὀρεῶ, δεησόμενον τὸ 10 μὲν τάλαντον ἀφῆναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελοῦμενον δ' αὐτῷ 04 τῷ χαλκῇν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν Ὀρεῶ. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδῆμῳ, ὅτι πολλοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ χαλκοῦ δ' οὐδὲν δέοιτο· τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου εἰσέπρα-  
τεν. ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὀρεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦντες

§§ 103 ff. Here we have something specific instead of the general charges of bribery with which the oration is so thickly sown. It seems strange that Aeschines should have hit upon so improbable an invention as that Demosthenes took a present in the form of a mortgage (§ 104. 5). The whole matter is explained by inscriptions, CIA. II. 804 B<sup>a</sup>, I ff.; 809<sup>c</sup>, 42 ff. There it is seen that certain Athenians became surety for money advanced to the Chalcidians to enable them to furnish the contingent of triremes required of them by the terms of the alliance. Demosthenes is named as one of these sureties who had to advance money. Doubtless he became surety in the same way for the Oreites, and in covering himself took the mortgage which Aeschines uses as a handle against him. See Schäfer, II. pp. 459 f.

5. δημοκρατουμένων κτλ.: Aeschines shrewdly attributes it to the auto-

cratic and underhanded management of the tyrants that Demosthenes' villany was not detected in Chalcis and Eretria as well as in Oreus. The latter had been freed from its tyrant Philistides in the foregoing year, 341 B.C. Cf. Dem. xviii. 79, τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὶν ἐξοδόν. Charax, Frag. 31, Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα Χαλκιδέεσσι τοῖς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Ὀρεὶν Φιλιστίδην τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ὀρεῖτας ἡλευθέρωσαν. (Quoted by Stephanus Byz. s.v. Ὀρεός.)

6. ἐξανηλωμένοι: spent. Cf. Dem. xiii. 27, ἐξανήλονται δὲ οἱ τε ἴδιοι πάντες οἴκοι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

11. χαλκῇν εἰκόνα: this statue was prob. to be erected to Demosthenes not so much for his pecuniary support in 341 as for his service as liberator in the preceding year.

§ 104. 2. ὅτι πολλοῦ κτλ.: see App.

3. εἰσέπραττεν: attempted action.

4. ἀναγκαζόμενοι: i.e. by Callias?



5 ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ταλάντου τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους  
καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς, ἕως τὸ  
105 κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη μετὰ ψηφίσμα-  
τος τοῦ δήμου. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψηφίσμα  
τῶν Ὀρειτῶν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 5 Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψηφίσμα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχύνῃ  
μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθένους  
πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία Κτησιφώντος· τὸν  
γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχροῦς δωροδοκοῦντα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γε-  
γόνειν ἀγαθόν, ὃ τετόλμηκεν οὗτος γράψαι.
- 106 Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν,  
μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημοσθέ-  
νης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις  
ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἀδικον δὲ καὶ  
5 οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν γράψας.  
ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

5. ὑπέθεσαν: *mortgaged*.

6. δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς: twelve per cent, the usual rate of interest at that time. See Böckh, *P. E.* Book I. c. 11.

§ 105. 5 ff. Epiphonema closing the discussion of this period, in which Demosthenes and Ctesiphon together are held up to the jurors as objects of scorn.

6) *Third Period of Demosthenes' Political Career*, 340-338 B.C. §§ 106-158.

For Demosthenes' answer, cf. *Dem.* xviii. 140 ff.

§ 106. 1. Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται κτλ.: the speaker has come at last to the good thing held in reserve. See on σπεύδων, § 84. 4.

2. μᾶλλον δέ: for this method of introducing a correction with rhetorical effect, cf. *Dem.* xviii. 30, *ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων*. ix. 25. Without any such effect is § 113. 3. "This is no mere third period of Demosthenes' political life. It is the bitterest period of Athenian history."

3. πράξεις: see on § 21. 5.

4. ἀσεβήσας μὲν κτλ.: the two great crimes of Demosthenes are introduced by μὲν and δέ with two particles, chiasmically arranged. The omission of any mention of the alliance with Byzantium and Perinthus which led to open war with Philip is striking. Cf. § 256. The two great crimes are thus singled out for emphasis.

**107** Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον καὶ λιμὴν ὃ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος. ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατώκησαν Κιρραῖοι καὶ Κραναλῖδαι, γένη παρανομώτατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς **Ε** καὶ περὶ τὰναθήματα ἡσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτυόνας. ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις μάλιστα μὲν ὡς λέγεται οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτυόνες μαντεῖαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ- **108** τοὺς μετελθεῖν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία πολεμεῖν

§§ 107 ff. contain a most brilliant effort in narrative, which was Aeschines' strongest point. See *Introd.* § 29. The passage challenges comparison with *Dem. xviii.* 169 ff. For the facts, see *Grote*, *XI.* c. 90, pp. 274 ff. *Schäfer*, *II.* pp. 498 ff.

§ 107. 1. γάρ: for a similar use of γάρ to introduce a narrative, cf. *Hdt.* *iii.* 31, ἔγχε δὲ αὐτὴν ὥδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν κτλ. — τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον: about four miles south of Crissa, formerly the principal settlement of the region, at the mouth of the Pleistis, lay the harbor Cirrha, which gave its name to the surrounding plain. See *Bursian*, *Geographie von Griechenland*, *I.* pp. 180 ff. *Strabo* (*ix.* 3. 3) calls the same plain Κρυσσαῖον πεδῖον. Similarity of the two names made confusion easy; furthermore it was really the same plain which belonged to both cities. *Strabo*, *l.c.*, gives the distance from Cirrha to Delphi as eighty stades, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνάβασις εἰς Δελφοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά που σταδίω. The actual distance by the usual road is not over seven miles. See *Baedeker*, *Griechenland*, p. 133. This exaggeration alone would hardly prove that

*Strabo* had never visited Delphi. See on § 123. 5.

2. ὃ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος: this name had now supplanted the regular name, Cirrha. ἐξάγιστος means consecrated to a god; so of places often equiv. to ἅβανον. Cf. *Soph. O.C.* 167, 675 with 1520. With consecratio an imprecation against transgressors was often coupled; so here ἐπάρατος is added. Cf. *Isocr.* *iv.* 156, τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινέειν, ὃ τι τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντο, εἴ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὰρχαῖα καταστήσαι βουληθεῖεν. For the ἀρά, cf. § 110. For the recurrence of this combination, cf. §§ 113, 114, 119.

3. Κραναλῖδαι: prob. an ancient Dryopian clan which officiated at Delphi as servants of Apollo. See *Müller*, *Dorians*, *I.* pp. 47, 276. *Schömann*, *I.* p. 135.

5. ἐξημάρτον: cf. *Strabo*, *ix.* 3. 4, πικρῶς ἐτελώνουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφικνουμένους καὶ παρὰ τὰ προστάγματα τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.

10. μετελθεῖν: an archaic expression (cf. *Eng.* 'visit upon') taken from the days of the 'avenger of blood.' See *Rehdantz* on *Lycurg.* 116.

Κιρραίοις καὶ Κραναλίδαις πάντ' ἥματα καὶ πάσας νύκτας,  
καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ  
αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ 69  
5 Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ ἐπὶ  
πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐργά-  
ζεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλον εἶναι. λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον  
οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες ἐψηφίσαντο Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου  
τὴν γνώμην ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν  
109 μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν πολλήν

Appropriate to the solemnity of tragedy, where with *μετιέναι* it is frequent. Cf. Thuc. iv. 62. 3, *μετιόντες τοὺς ἀδικούντας*. Antipho, i. 10, *μετέρχομαι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρός*.

§ 108. 2. *πάντ' ἥματα*: trace of the poetic form in which the oracle was delivered. See Rawlinson on Hdt. iv. 163.

3. *ἐκπορθήσαντας*: the execution of this command forms the contents of § 109.

5. *καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ*: Artemis and Leto were constantly associated in worship with Apollo. Cf. Theog. 1-14. Hor. *Od.* i. 21. So also at Delphi. See Preller, *Griech. Myth.* I. p. 238. Among the temples mentioned by Pausanias (x. 8. 6) without giving names, may have been one to each of these divinities.—*Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ*: cf. Hdt. i. 92, viii. 37-39. To those approaching Delphi by the Sacred Way, the temple of Athene lay before that of Apollo. Cf. Paus. l.c. Hence this epithet of the goddess, of Delphic origin. See Preller, *Griech. Myth.* I. p. 161. Consequent upon a more ethical apprehension of the goddess, came the change into *Πρόνοια*. See Bursian, *Geogr. Griech.* I. p. 171. See App.

For the absence of the art. compared with τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ, see the collection of examples made by Rehdantz on Lyeurg. 137.—*ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ*: aim or purpose. H. 799, 2 c. The means of making this district to be forever waste are stated in the following clause.

8. *Σόλωνος εἰπόντος*: on the motion of Solon. For Solon's power in swaying an assembly, cf. Plut. *Sol.* 8. Diog. Laert. i. 2. 1 (case of Salamis). For the present case, cf. Plut. *Sol.* 11, *ἥδη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτων ἐνδοξος ἦν ὁ Σόλων καὶ μέγας. ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιωρᾶν Κιρραίους ὑβρίζοντας εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀλλὰ προσαμύνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ Δελφοῖς. πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου, πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὤρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες, ὡς ἄλλοι τε μαρτυροῦσι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιοκῶν ἀναγραφῇ, Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀντιθεῖς. The orator intends to suggest the question whether Athens could afford to break with her traditional policy towards Delphi, sanctioned by the name of Solon. Cf. the appeal to Solon at the opening and close of the oration, §§ 2, 257.*

§ 109. 1. *συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν*



τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ  
 τὸν λιμένα ἔχωσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν  
 χώραν καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 5 ὄρκον ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν μήτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργά-  
 σεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ  
 καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ  
 110 δυνάμει. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρκον  
 ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἄρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ὑπὲρ  
 τούτων ἐποίησαντο. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ, "εἴ  
 τις τάδε," φησί, "παραβαίνοι ἡ πόλις ἡ ἰδιώτης ἡ ἔθνος,  
 5 ἐναγής," φησὶν, "ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 111 καὶ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας." καὶ ἐπεύχεται

κτλ.: description of the First Sacred War, 595 B.C. Alcmaeon was general of the Athenian contingent. Cf. Plut. Sol. l.c., ἐν τε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασι Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται. See Grote, III. c. 28, pp. 475 ff.

6. τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ: perhaps a reminiscence of Soph. O. T. 137 (or 253), γῇ τῇδε τιμωροῦντα τῷ θεῷ θ' ἅμα.

7. καὶ χειρὶ κτλ.: for the same formula, cf. § 120; II. 115. Cf. Lycurg. 127, διομωμόκατε δ' ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κτείνειν τὴν τὴν πατρίδα προδόντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ψήφῳ. Andoc. I. 97.

§ 110. 2. προστροπήν: the meaning *imprecation* comes from the combination with ἄρὰν. — ἰσχυρὰν: cf. § 109. 6. Antipho, v. 11, δέον σε διομόσασθαι ὄρκον τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον. There was something of the binding power of magic in the Greek oath.

3. γέγραπται: it is written: with reference to a well known or venerable law. Cf. Ev. Matth. iv. 4 ff. Dem. ix. 44. — εἴ τις τάδε παραβαίνοι: this

form rather than ἐὰν παραβαίνοι is old-fashioned Greek. For a similar effect, cf. Soph. O. T. 249 f., οἴκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γένοιτο ἐμοῦ συνειδότης.

4. φησί: the repetition of this verb impresses upon the hearer that the speaker is giving a faithful *verbatim* quot. from the document. Cf. Dem. ix. 44.

5. ἐναγής: equiv. to τῇ ἀρ. ἐνοχος (§ 122. 14); opp. to εὐσεβής. Cf. § 129. 8, 9. Thuc. i. 126. 11, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου (i.e. the affair of Cylon) ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτῆριοι τῆς θεοῦ. Impresiveness is gained by the repetition of this word. Cf. §§ 108, 117, 121, 122. Similarly ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπῆρατος is repeated. See on § 107. 2. The gens. Ἀπόλλωνος κτλ. follow the analogy of the gen. with ἱερός. G. 181; H. 754 c.

§ 111. 1. ἐπεύχεται: sc. ἀρὰ. For a similar imprecation, cf. Hdt. iii. 65. Soph. O. T. 269 ff., καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρώσιν εἰχομαι θεοὺς μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀνιέναι τινα μήτ' οὐν γυναικῶν παῖδας. Cf. Liban. Ep. 242, εἰχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς πῦσι καὶ πάσαις γῇν τ' αὐτοῖς κάρπον ὅτι

αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν μήτε γυναῖκας τίκτειν  
 γονεῦσιν ἐοικότα ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μηδὲ βουσκήματα κατὰ  
 φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ εἶναι πολέμου καὶ δικῶν  
 5 καὶ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ  
 γένος ἐκείνων. “καὶ μήποτε,” φησί, “ὁσίως θύσειαν τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῇ μηδ’ Ἀθηνᾶ  
 112 Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.” ὅτι δ’ ἀληθῆ  
 λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν.

## MANTEIA.

[Οὐ πρὶν τῇσδε πόλῃος ἐρεῖψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,  
 5 πρὶν γε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης  
 κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς.]  
 ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς.

πλεῖστον διδόναι καὶ ἀέρα μένειν ἐν τοῖς  
 μέτροις καὶ γυναῖκας τίκτειν ὅμοια τοῖς  
 γονεῦσι, καὶ λόγων, ὥσπερ νῦν, τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐρᾶν. Libanius prob. had in mind  
 this passage, which in turn may have  
 been suggested by Soph. l.c. The  
 suggestion of Hes. *Op.* 235, τίκτουςιν  
 δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα τοκεῦσι, runs  
 through them all. For a case of  
 divine vengeance like that here in-  
 voked, cf. *Hdt.* vi. 139.

5. ἀγορᾶς: epic for ἐκκλησίας. A  
 curse is to rest on all their public  
 deliberations. See on § 133. 4. The  
 three items selected cover the whole  
 range of public life. Contrast with  
 this the minute specifications of the  
 curse in *Deuter.* xxviii. 15 ff. The  
 gen. follows the analogy of the gen.  
 after the verb ἤττασθαι. Cf. Plato  
*Legg.* 902 a ἦττας ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν.  
 See Kr. *Spr.* 47, 25, 1. — ἐξώλεις: Dem.  
 joins this strong word with προώλης  
 in xviii. 324; xix. 172. Cf. CIG.  
 III. p. 1120, ἂν τις ἀδικήσῃ τὸ μνημα  
 τοῦτο, ἐξώλεα καὶ πανώλεα εἴη ἀοτὶ  
 πάντων. — καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος: for

similar imprecations upon family and  
 posterity, cf. II. 87. Antipho, v. 11,  
 ἐξώλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ  
 σῇ ἐπαρώμενος. [Dem.] LIX. 10, ἐξώ-  
 λειαν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκίᾳ ἐπα-  
 σώμενος. Dem. LIV. 41, εἰ δ’ ἐπινοῶ,  
 ἐξώλης ἀπολομένην αὐτὸς τε καὶ εἰ τί μοι  
 ἔστι ἢ μέλλει ἔσεσθαι. Lys. XII. 10.  
*Ar. Ran.* 587 f.

8. αὐτοῖς: δέξαι μοι was the regular  
 formula to accompany an offering or  
 a vow. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 635, δέξαι χροῶς  
 μοι τάσδε κλητηρίους. Cf. also Hom.  
*Il.* ii. 186, δέξατό οἱ σκῆπτρον. *Od.* xv.  
 282, xvi. 40.

§ 112. 4 ff. The oracle here given  
 is not genuine, but was inserted from  
 Paus. x. 37. 6. The original oracle  
 must, to judge from the connection,  
 have enjoined punishment upon the  
 offenders, not promised a victory to  
 the avengers. The sense of this ora-  
 cle seems to be, “annex the land down  
 to the sea to my temple domains,  
 and I will help you take the town.”

7. ἀκούσατε: note the change of  
 address.

## APA.

Ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὀρκῶν οὓς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ  
10 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

## ΟΡΚΟΙ.

13 Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν [καὶ τῆς μαντείας  
γενομένης] ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ  
Ἀμφισσοὺς μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προσεσηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες  
παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὸν λιμένα  
5 τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρaton πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώ-  
κισαν καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον καὶ τῶν  
ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι  
14 διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ  
ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλάγορος λαμβάνει δισχιλίᾳ δραχμὰς παρὰ

§ 118. 2. ἀναγεγραμμένων: in Delphi and in the other cities of the Amphictyonic League.—οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσοὺς: cf. Paus. x. 38. 1 ff., ἡ δὲ γῆ ἢ Λοκρῶν τῶν καλουμένων Ὀζολῶν προσεχὴς τῇ Φωκίδι ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Κίρραν. Δελφῶν δ' ἀποτέρω σταδίοις εἰκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶν Ἀμφισσα μεγίστη καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη πόλις τῶν Λοκρῶν.

3. μᾶλλον δέ: see on § 106. 2.—οἱ προσεσηκότες: the fact that a respectable party in Amphissa (τοὺς δι' εὐσέβειαν φεύγοντας, § 129. 6) now opposed this occupation is hardly consonant with Grote's view that it was an affair of long standing. This emphasizing of the guilt of the leaders may be a side thrust at Demosthenes. Cf. § 129. fin.

4. παρανομώτατοι: cf. § 107. 4. These persons are held up as equally guilty with the old offenders.

6. τέλη ἐξέλεγον: cf. § 119. 6. Strabo, ix. 3. 4, χεῖρους ἦσαν περὶ τοὺς ἐνίους τῶν πάλαι Κρισαίων. Aeschines' charge was no mere fabrication.

As to the harbor arrangements of Delphi between the First Sacred War and the occupation by the Amphisians we have no information.

7. ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν: this charge implies that the occupation was recent; otherwise the risk of punishment would not have been sufficient to require bribery.

8. Δημοσθένης: prob. in the spring of 343 B.C. Demosthenes was chosen πυλάγορος as a colleague of Hyperides (cf. Dem. xviii. 134). The important question of the right of Athens to the control of the temple of Apollo in Delos had been referred to that assembly of the Amphictyons. See Schäfer, II. p. 350. When such an important case for Athens was pending, Athenian delegates would be likely to wink at an abuse, the mention of which would provoke discussion. This would furnish Aeschines a sufficient pretext for the usual charge of bribery.

§ 114. 2. πυλάγορος: see on § 115.



τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 Ἀμφικτυόσι ποιείσθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς  
 5 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυ-  
 τοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων  
 χρημάτων, ἐφ' ὅτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι  
 κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέ-  
 βηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἂν προσάψηται ἢ ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου  
 10 ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις  
 115 συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν. σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ  
 τὴν τύχην ὡς περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας.

3. — δισχιλίας δραχμάς κτλ.: another lie with circumstance. Cf. § 103 in.

3. τοῦ . . . ποιείσθαι: inf. of purpose, used for the most part only with a neg. GMT. 95, 1; H. 960. Cf. Dem. xviii. 107, μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν. Lycurg. 142, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦ μὴ καταλυθῆναι χίλιοι τῶν ὑπετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν. See Morris on Thuc. i. 4. The equiv. Lat. const. is the gen. of the gerundive in Tac. Ann. ii. 59, Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. The purpose here is to be referred to the minds of the givers. The relation is not very different from that expressed in line 7 by ἐφ' ὅτε βοηθήσειν. See GMT. 99; H. 990 a. As the price of, etc., would here be a fair equiv. for each. The suggestion that Demosthenes became the proxenus of Amphissa with a fee too large for a conscientious man (Simcox) would explain Aeschines' minute charges.

8. ὅθεν: i.e. from his venality. — μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον: his innate bad fortune was bound to bring a curse any way. Cf. Demosthenes' noble introduction of the subject of τύχη, xviii. 252 ff., in reply to this and

§§ 157, 158. The earnestness with which Demosthenes takes up this point shows that Aeschines touched a chord in the popular feeling with his thrust. See Schmidt, *Ethik der Griechen*, I. p. 75.

9. ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου κτλ.: climax. Cf. § 158. 1.

10. ἀνιάτοις συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν: cf. § 226. 7.

§ 115. 1. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην: cf. 157. 10. Dem. xviii. 303, ἡ δαίμωνός τινος ἡ τύχης ἰσχὺς. xlviii. 24, καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ καὶ δαίμονα. In this formula personification is reduced to a minimum, and no sharp distinction is made between δαίμων and τύχη. So we have τύχη δαίμονος, Pind. O. viii. 67. τύχη θεοῦ, Pind. N. vi. 25. Cf. Tennyson, 'Whereupon I chanced divinely.' For a discussion of the Greek idea of τύχη, see Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, II. pp. 799 ff. Goethe (*Urworte, Orphisch*) translates τύχη by 'Das Zufällige.' Cf. Thuc. i. 140. 1 fin.

2. περιεγένετο: suggests a battle. The ἀσέβεια of the Amphissians, disobedience to divine command, is a sort of challenge to the divine holiness and power.

ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διο-  
γνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν  
B τε ἐκείνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον, ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν  
ἐνεκα ζῆν, καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν ἐξ Οἴου καὶ τρίτον δὴ  
μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελ-  
φοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα πυρέττειν·  
τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεπεπτώκει καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. οἱ δ'  
I 6 ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτυόνες. ἐξηγγέλτο δ' ἡμῶν 70  
παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι  
οἱ Ἀμφισσέως ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύ-  
οντες τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας

3. Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος: i.e. 340-339  
a.c. The assembly described is that  
of the spring of 339 b.c. The discus-  
sion in Grote (XI. c. 90, p. 285, note) is  
now rendered superfluous by the ac-  
knowledgeed spuriousness of the docu-  
ments inserted in Dem. xviii. — ἱερο-  
μνήμονος: see App.

4. Ἀναφλυστίου: for the Attic deme  
here referred to, see Bursian, *Geogr.*  
*Griech.* I. p. 357. Leake, *Athens and*  
*Demes of Attica*, II. pp. 25, 51, 59. —  
Μειδίαν: see on τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν, § 52. 7.

5. ἐκείνον: marks Midias as well  
known. Cf. Dem. xviii. 219, Καλλι-  
στρατος ἐκείνος. Ar. *Nub.* 534, ἠλέκ-  
τραν κατ' ἐκείνην. See Kühn. 467, 13.

— Ἀναγυράσιον: see Bursian, *Geogr.*  
*Griech.* I. p. 358. Leake, *Athens and*  
*Demes of Attica*, II. p. 56. — ἐβουλό-  
μην ἂν: see on § 2. 1. The different  
meaning conveyed by ἐβουλόμην with-  
out ἂν, insisted upon by all grammari-  
ans (see, in addition to those cited  
on § 2. 1, Kühn. 392 b, 4), hardly ap-  
pears from a comparison of the two  
passages.

7. μέν: co-ord. for the more usual  
subord. arrangement.

8. πυρέττειν: cf. *Ev. Marc.* i. 30, ἡ δὲ  
πενθερὰ Σίμωνος κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα.

§ 116. 2. τῶν βουλομένων κτλ.: it  
is scarcely necessary to seek for Mace-  
donian sympathizers under this desig-  
nation. It was an act of simple good  
will to Athens, the far-reaching con-  
sequences of which the informants  
did not see. See *Introd.* § 22.

3. οἱ Ἀμφισσέως: not merely the  
Hieromnemones and Pylagorae, but the  
whole city represented here by them.  
— θεραπεύοντες: much stronger word  
than ὑποπεπτωκότες, denoting the ut-  
most degree of subservency. Cf. Dem.  
xviii. 8, ὑπέρχουσαι καὶ θεραπεύειν.

4. εἰσέφερον: represents the pres.  
of dir. disc. GMT. 70, 2, n. 2; H. 936.  
The direct form of the report which  
had been brought (ἐξηγγέλτο) to the  
Athenians was εἰσφέρουσι δόγμα, they  
propose to bring in a bill. Dem. xviii.  
150, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόν-  
των ὑμῶν κτλ., asserts that the Locrians  
had no such intention, because a pre-  
vious summons would have been nec-  
essary before such a matter could  
have been brought forward in this  
formal way (δίκην τελέσασθαι).



5 πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸν  
 Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθηκεν πρὸς τὸν και-  
 νὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τὸ προσῆκον  
 ἐπίγραμμα "Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ὅτε  
 τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησι ἐμάχοντο." μεταπεμφάμενος δ'  
 10 ἐμέ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ  
 εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτυόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ  
 117 αὐτὸν οὕτω προσηρημένον. ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ  
 προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν  
 ἄλλων πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμ-

6. πρὸς: the shields were prob. hung as a votive offering on the outer wall of the πρόναος. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 108, *debel* πρὸς κίον' ἐρκέου στέγης (equiv. to *ἔνω κίονι δῆσας*, 240).

7. πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι: See App. — τὸ προσῆκον: whatever may be said of the fitness of the first inscription, the conspicuous renewal of it at this time was deplorable. It must be remembered, however, that the long-standing hatred between Athens and Thebes was still lively, though, thanks to the diplomacy of Demosthenes, the next year saw them standing together at Chaeronea. Aeschines speaks from the narrowest Athenian point of view. Charles Sumner's resolution to expunge from the regimental flags the names of Federal victories and the opposition cry, that 'treason should be made odious,' is our parallel to the situation, except that in Greece the danger that called for hearty union against the foreign enemy was already present.

9. μεταπεμφάμενος δ' ἐμέ: there is some mystery in Aeschines having stayed away from a meeting where the other Pylagorae were present. Cf. § 115. 10, § 117. 2. Thrasycles

also appears to have been absent, as the news of the motion came from well-wishers of Athens. Cf. line 1 ff. It is hardly likely that the enforced absence of the Hieromnemon would be an occasion for the Pylagorae associated with him also absents themselves. Besides, it appears from line 12 that Aeschines, on the receipt of the news, had already decided to go in and speak without an invitation from the Hieromnemon.

§ 117. 1. ἀρχομένου . . . καὶ . . . εἰσεληλυθότος: careless co-ordination, giving the second partic. the appearance of an afterthought.

3. ἄλλων: contrasted with *μού*. — μεθεστηκότων: having withdrawn. Cf. §§ 122, 125, 129, 165. The Hieromnemons, after the discussion and the withdrawal of the Pylagorae, were now in 'executive session.' Aeschines prob. came later than he had intended, and after the general discussion upon the offensive motion. Whether his pressing in among the Hieromnemons was an irregularity to which his excessive zeal carried him, or whether he was acting with powers delegated by Diognetus, neither the narrative nor our knowl-



φισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνοτο  
 5 οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου  
 τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν προαγομένου, "ἀρχὴν δέ γε," ἔφη, "ὦ  
 ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάζετε τοῦ-  
 νομα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις,  
 18 ἄλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ." ἅμα δὲ  
 ἑμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας ἣν ὁ Κρωβύλος  
 ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς

edge of the relations between the two sets of delegates enables us to determine. — τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων: prob. a disparaging way of referring to the Amphissian Hieromnemon. See on τινές, § 1. 3.

5. οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκώς: How Aeschines plumed himself on his παιδεία may be best seen from i. 141 ff. where he prefaces a pedantic quotation of a good deal of poetry with the remark ἴν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς τι ἤδη ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐμάθομεν. For a collection of similar passages, see Blass, III. 2, p. 158, note. A review of these passages enables one to appreciate the withering reply of Demosthenes, xviii. 128. — ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινός κτλ.: Greek literature is full of the idea, 'whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.' Cf. Lyeurg. 92, οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν παράγουσι. Soph. Ant. 620 ff., σοφία γὰρ ἔκ του κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται, τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν τῷδ' ἔμμεν ὅττι φρένας θεὸς ἀγει πρὸς ἅταν. Hom. Il. ix. 377, ἐκ γὰρ εὖ φρένας εἴλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς. Above all, the quotation from Euripides in Lyeurg. 92, ὅταν γὰρ ὀργῇ δαιμόνων βλάβη τινά, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἐξαφαιρείται φρεσὼν τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χεῖρῳ τρέπει γνώμην, ἴν' εἰδῇ μηδὲν ὦν

ἀμαρτάνει. For the word δαιμόνιον in the same connection, cf. Dem. ix. 54, ἄλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μαρίας ἢ παρανομίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ). The word is chosen to express some obscure divine impulse. Cf. Socrates' δαιμόνιον in Plato *Apol.* The alternatives in Aeschines' mind are "the Amphissian was ἀσελγέστατος because either he lacked παιδεία, the main object of which was to impart σωφροσύνη, or his παιδεία was overruled by θεοβλάβεια." See Schmidt, *Ethik der Griechen*, I. p. 234 ff.

6. ἀρχὴν: adv. acc. always with a neg. G. 160. 2; H. 719 a.

8. ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις: i.e. these sacred days.

§ 118. 2. τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας: for this alliance between Athens and the Phocians in the Sacred War, cf. Dem. xix. 61, 62, & μὲν τοῖνον ὑπῆρχε παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς (i.e. the Phocians), ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, φιλία συμμαχία βοήθεια. — ὁ Κρωβύλος ἐκεῖνος: *Top-knot*, a current nick-name for Hegesippus, an orator who surpassed Demosthenes in anti-Macedonian zeal, the prob. author of the oration on Halonnesus. The name originated in his ostentatious affectation of old fashion in wearing his hair done up in a knot

πόλεως διεξήει, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρου ἀκούων  
 5 οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρω-  
 ξύνθη, ὥς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ. καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆει δ' οὖν μοι μνη-  
 σθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων παρανοίας, καὶ αὐτόθεν  
 ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυντο τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόσιν· ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ

on the top of his head. See Morris on Thuc. i. 6. 3. Schol. on i. 64, 71, ἐκαμφόθη ὡς αἰσχρὸς τὴν ὕψιν καὶ περὶ τὰ Φωκικὰ ἡμαρτηκώς. — ἐκείνος: reinforces the ridicule in Κρωβύλος. See on ἐκείνου, § 115. 5. This alliance with the Phocians was one of which Athens soon became ashamed. Cf. Dem. xviii. 18, οὐ δίκαια παιῶντας ὀρώντες. The sight of the despoiled temple of Apollo would be a sad reminder of it at every Amphictyonic meeting. It would hardly answer for Aeschines to represent himself as taking sides with the jeering Amphissian in this matter; but it was very convenient to insinuate that it was *that* Crobylus who had put Athens in a position where an Amphissian could revile her.

Athens missed a great opportunity by becoming an ally of Phocis rather than a mediator between the contending parties. See Schäfer, I. p. 452.

4. οὔτε ἐκαρτέρου ἀκούων: heard with no patience. Cf. §§ 166. 4, 241. 8. Aeschines did not interrupt the impudent speaker, as is shown by διεξήει.

5. οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν: this *paraleipsis* invites the hearers to share the speaker's indignation. — αὐτῶν: for the transition from the rel. to the dem., cf. § 211. 3. — οὕτω παρωξύνθη κτλ.: it would take more confidence in the word of Demosthenes than it really warrants to make us believe that this outburst of in-

dignation so graphically and naively described was entirely 'fictitious, and that the circumstances here given in explanation of it were also fictitious. Could any one go so far in his conviction that this was a 'put up job.' for which Aeschines was paid by Philip, as to believe that the impudent Amphissian was also bribed by Philip to play a part in it? See Introd. § 22.

6. ἑαυτοῦ: for the extravagant use of the reflex. pron., cf. §§ 176, 182, 191, 209, 217, 223, 224.

7. ἄλλους λόγους: i.e. prob. a brief defence of Athens. But anger naturally led to the use of sharper weapons. Aeschines was in a frame of mind for attack, and the situation invited it. — ἐπῆει: imperf. rather than aor. because there lies before Aeschines' mind a lively picture of the whole affair. "The imperfect has only to do with the vision of the narrator." Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. of Phil.* IV. p. 160. — οὖν: laying particular stress on this member of the sent. II. 1048, 2. Cf. Dem. xviii. 213; xxii. 13. Isocr. xiv. 40.

8. παρανοίας: see on § 117. 5, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου κτλ. This is the effect of *θεοβλάβεια*, and includes *ἀσέβεια* like the Biblical 'folly.' — αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς: from the very spot where I stood. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 76 f., τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης. From the heights



- 119 Κιρραῖον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον. "ὄρατ'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀμφικτυόνες, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνφοδομημένα καὶ αὐλία· ὀράτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ἐξάγιστον  
 5 καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους αὐτοί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων, τέλη πεπρακότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λιμένος." ἅμα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὄρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἀρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ  
 120 διωριζόμεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἐμαντοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύνα-  
 5 μαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς

above Delphi on which the stadium was located the whole valley of the Pleistus, down to the gulf, is plainly visible (*εὐσύνοπτον*). See Mahaffy, *Rambles in Greece*, p. 230.

§ 119, 4. αὐλία: cf. Steph. Byzan. s.v. αὐλή: αἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς οἰκῆσεις αὐλία. — τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς: combined with the repetition of the verb this makes an impassioned form, calculated to stir indignation. Cf. II. 148, ἥ (i.e. my mother) νῦν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν προφαίνεται φοβουμένη περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, where the object is to inspire pity.

5. ἴστε τούτους αὐτοί . . . τέλη πεπρακότας: many of the delegates, e.g. the Peloponnesians, having come by sea, had doubtless been subjected to the toll.

8. ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλευον κτλ.: it would be rash to conclude from this that Aeschines had planned this appeal beforehand. Cf. Dem. xviii.

149. This very important Delphic document would surely be close at hand, and a call for the reading of it would be natural even in the heat of an extemporized attack, nor would the production and reading of it cause delay enough to impede the effect of the speaker's fervid utterance. — αὐτοῖς: ind. obj. of ἀναγινώσκειν. For a correction of L. and S.'s assertion that κελεύω sometimes takes the dat., see *Am. Jour. of Phil.* VIII. p. 120.

10. διωριζόμεν: used of a most positive and explicit declaration. Cf. Dem. xviii. 40, ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διαρίζεται κτλ.

§ 120, 4. καὶ χειρὶ κτλ.: quot. from the oath. Cf. § 109, 7. — πᾶσιν οἷς δύναμαι: with all my powers. Equiv. to πάσῃ δυνάμει, § 109, 7. Quite different would be οἷς ἂν δύνωμαι. It is no contingent and general assistance that the speaker proffers, but assistance now and on the spot.



ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευέσθε.  
 ἐνήρηται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τὰ θύματα, μέλλετε  
 121 δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ. σκο-  
 πεῖτε ποῖα φωνῇ, ποῖα ψυχῇ, ποίοις ὄμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν  
 κτησάμενοι τὰς ἱκετείας ποιήσεσθε παρέντες ἀτιμωρή-  
 τους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους. οὐ γὰρ δι'  
 5 αἰνιγμῶν ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατὰ τε  
 τῶν ἀσεβησάντων ἅ χρη παθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ τῶν  
 ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται·  
 μηδ' ὀσίως, φησὶ, θύσειαν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες τῷ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ' Ἀθηνᾷ  
 122 Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά." τοιαῦτα καὶ  
 πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξεληθόντος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ  
 ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγῇ

6. ἀφοσιῶ: clear the skirts. Cf. Hesych. s.v. ἀφοσιῶν: καθαίρειν. Cf. Hdt. i. 199, iv. 154, where it is used of the fulfilment of a vow.—ἤδη: marks the impetuosity of the speaker.

7. ἐνήρηται: vox sacrificialis, are ready for the offering, i.e. filled with the sacred barley (οὐλόχυνται). Cf. Eur. El. 1142, κανοῦν δ' ἐνήρηται καὶ τεθηγμένη σφαγίς. Iph. A. 955, πικροὺς δὲ προχύτας χέρνιβας τ' ἐνάρξεται Κάλ-  
 χας ὁ μάντις. Ibid. 1471, κανᾶ δ' ἐν-  
 αρχέσθω τις, αἰθέσθω δὲ πῦρ προχύταις  
 καθαράσι καὶ πατὴρ ἑμὲς ἐνδεξιούσθω  
 βωμόν. L. and S.'s translation would  
 imply something like Champlin's,  
 "Suppose them (i.e. the sacred rites)  
 to have commenced."

8. καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ: common formula, varied in Dem. xviii. 8 to κοινῇ καὶ ἐκόντῃ.

§ 121. 2. Asyndeton and climax of impassioned speech.—ποίοις ὄμμασι: cf. Dem. xviii. 201, τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς

πρὸς Διὸς ἐκρωμένῃ ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους.—τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι: such hardihood cannot be a natural gift. Similarly § 133. 6. Cf. § 130. 2. The theology of the passage is notable. The consciousness of guilt for which no atonement has been made, unfits one for every religious act. "Leave there thy gift before the altar."

4. δι' αἰνιγμῶν: cf. 1. Ep. Cor. 13. 12, βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνιγματι. For the form, cf. Ar. Ran. 60, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, ὁμῶς γε μέντοι σοὶ δι' αἰνιγμῶν ἔρω.

7: ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται: see on § 110. 3. An impressive repetition like ὑρᾶτε, § 119. 4, q.v. For the following quot., cf. § 111. fin.

§ 122. 3. μετέστην: see on μεθεστηκότων, § 117. 3. Having ended his exhortation as Pythagoras, he withdraws, leaving the decision to the Hieromnemons.

- πολλή καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ ὁ λόγος  
 5 ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἅς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τιμωρίας. ἤδη δὲ πόρρω  
 τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπε, Δελφῶν  
 ὅσοι ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἦκειν  
 εἰς αὐριον ἔχοντας ἄμας καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ Θυτείον  
 10 ἐκεῖ καλούμενον· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἀναγορεύει  
 τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους ἅπαντας ἦκειν  
 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ  
 ἱερᾷ· "ἥτις δ' ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρζεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ 71  
 123 καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἔνοχος." τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ  
 ἦκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον καὶ κατέβημεν  
 εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες  
 καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν. καὶ ταῦτα  
 5 ἡμῶν πραττόντων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἐξήκοντα

4. τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων: can hardly refer to the Hieromnemons. In the rapid narration, the inconsiderable interval is ignored during which the heat of the speech, having inflamed the executive body, communicated itself to the larger body awaiting its decision without. — καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι κτλ.: spoken in proud consciousness of an oratorical power which had so completely turned the tables upon the aggressive Amphisians.

7. οὔσης: unusual const. ὅτος would be reg., leaving ἡμέρας, as usual, a part. gen. with πόρρω. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 310 c; *Symp.* 217 d. Gen. abs. of cause explaining why the work of vengeance was deferred till the next morning.

8. ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῶσι: the same phrase occurs in Isae. viii. 31; x. 12. Whether it designates the age of 16, 18 or 20

years will perhaps never be known. Authorities are hopelessly divided. We are not to understand that a detail was here made of persons between 16 and 18, or between 18 and 20. This was rather a grand rally of all persons present (including even the slaves) from a certain age, whatever that be, upwards. See App.

9. Θυτείον: prob. a place on the road from Delphi to Cirrha, where the Amphictyons were wont to offer sacrifice. See Bursian, *Geog. Gr.* I. p. 179. The curious passage, Harpocr. s.v. Θύστιον: Αἰσχίνης κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Αἰτωλίας, shows how much reliance is to be put upon the uncorroborated statements of some of our 'authorities.'

§ 123. 5. ἐξήκοντα στάδια: cf. Paus. x. 38. 4 (quoted on § 113. 2), where the distance is given as 120 stadia. Neither statement is exact.



στάδια ἄπωθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελφῶν, ἤκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὀπλων πανδημεί· καὶ εἰ μὴ δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς  
 124 Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν ἀπολέσθαι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ  
 ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν  
 ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· [ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν,  
 ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας  
 5 συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ τοὺς χρω-  
 μένους τῷ θεῷ]. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλαὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀμφισ-  
 σέων κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας

Each may, however, be regarded as approximately correct if one is taken as the bee-line, and the other as the winding road. See Schäfer, II. p. 500, note.

8. ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν ἀπολέσθαι: see App. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 151, περιμέντων τοῖσιν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου (Aeschines), προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. News of the proclamation had doubtless been carried to Amphissa the preceding evening, and the march of the Amphissians was no more prompt than under the circumstances might have been expected. The work of destruction was already accomplished, and the Amphictyons already withdrawing (ἀνεχωροῦμεν) to Delphi, on their arrival. In this resistance to an Amphictyonic decree the Amphissians may have counted on the powerful support of Thebes. Assistance from Athens, the offended party, whose delegate had just brought down the storm upon them, must have lain beyond their hopes.

§ 124. 2. Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων: cf. § 128. 7. The Thessalians held the presidency and a con-

trolling position in the Amphictyonic League. Temporarily deprived of this by the Phocians in the Sacred War, they had been reinstated by Philip at the Peace of Philocrates. Cf. Dem. VI. 22, τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα. VIII. 65, τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι. V. 23; XIX. 318. See Schäfer, II. p. 271, note.

3. [ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ κτλ.]: see App. This body, made up as here described, was prob. related to the συνέδριον much as the ἄλλα at Sparta was related to γερουσία. Before this body certain measures which had passed the συνέδριον appear to have been brought up for ratification or rejection. Discussion was prob. not entirely excluded, any more than at Sparta. The measure of two days before seems not to have been laid before such a body. Now perhaps it was thought desirable to add the weight of their ratification. Rejection would, under the circumstances, hardly be possible.

5. τοὺς συνθύοντας κτλ.: prob. only from states belonging to the league.

7. κατὰ: cf. § 50. 4. In which passage, as well as Plato *Phaedr.* 260 D, ἔπαινον κατὰ τοῦ ὄνου, there is a sug-



πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἡκεῖν  
 τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῇ  
 10 χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώ-  
 σουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτυόνας ἐξήμαρτον. ὅτι δὲ  
 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125 Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ  
 βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν  
 ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης προαι-  
 ρουμένης εὖσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυή-

gestion of 'showering praises' down upon, with irony.

9. πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας: the next meeting would be in the autumn of the same year, 339 B.C. This extra meeting, in addition to the regular semi-annual meetings, shows the heat evolved by the affair. Such an extra meeting is without known precedent.

10. ἔχοντας δόγμα: a bill for the punishment of the Amphissians had already passed in the Delphic ἐκκλησία. This was now to be laid before the separate states of the league by the Hieromnemons for ratification. Armed with this ratification, the Hieromnemons were to appear at the extra session. Cf. § 125 *in*.

§ 125. The accumulation of particles. (see *Am. J. of Phil.* IX., pp. 146, 152) with the constant repetition of καὶ is a mark of slovenliness. Cf. §§ 19, 149; II. 26 ff.

1. ἀποδοθέντος κτλ.: the bill, presumably in the form of a written document, was presented successively to the βουλή and the ἐκκλησία for simple

ratification. This ratification it received, unless Aeschines is juggling with the word ἀποδεξαμένου, which might mean either simply received (like our parliamentary expression) or received with evident signs of approbation, i.e. approved. Not only does Aeschines, however, wish to convey the impression that the motion passed the ἐκκλησία, but Demosthenes (XVIII. 143, 144) affirms it. Why Demosthenes *ibid.* says nothing of his subsequent move by which he checkmated Aeschines and gained a great victory in diplomacy may be explained by Aeschines' statement, § 125 *fin.*, 126 *in.*, that it was an underhanded proceeding. The phraseology seems to imply that the βουλή, always cooler than the ἐκκλησία, refused to be stampeded like the latter, as in the case described in Dem. XIX. 17 ff.

3. προαιρουμένης: was minded. Note the change of tense.

4. εὖσεβεῖν: to fulfil its religious obligations. — ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος: see on § 114. 3.

6 ματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ιδιώτας ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν.

126 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δήμου ψήφισμα, ἀπεληλυθότος

5. ἀντιλέγοντος: cf. Dem. xviii. 143, καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, "πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνε, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυόνων." Demosthenes then goes on to claim that he did not on this occasion get a hearing any more than at the notable assembly when Aeschines and Philocrates pushed through the ratification of the disgraceful Peace of Philocrates: οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶπον με λέγειν. νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε.

6. ἐξελέγχοντος: i.e. of venality. This stock boast of both orators is nothing but empty words. Political considerations doubtless turned the scale. Demosthenes had not yet led a majority of the Athenians to cease thinking of Thebes as an object of hatred. If Philip hovered on the horizon, Aeschines could represent him, greatly to their liking, as a real enemy to Thebes and only a seeming enemy to Athens. Cf. § 141. 5. Demosthenes makes one remark xviii. 143, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ, which shows that he had not inspired impartial Athenians with confidence in his fairness. Thus he had impaired his own efficiency at this crisis. This little piece of unintentional confession is worth volumes of Aeschines' 'proofs' in pulling down Demosthenes from his eminence.

7. ἄνθρωπος: see on § 99. 1.

8. μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ιδιώτας: the ordinary discussions of the βουλή were open to visitors (cf. Dem. xix. 18, τὸ γὰρ βουλευτήριον μεστὸν ἦν ιδιωτῶν) who occupied a space separated by a railing from the members. Sometimes in a matter of great importance like the present one a secret session was called, and the public asked to retire. Our 'clearing the galleries' is the same thing. — ἐκφέρεται: cf. [Dem.] lix. 4, ἐξήνεγκε προβούλευμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Whatever bitterness there is in the expression lies in the mid. voice. Was Demosthenes again a senator ἐκ παρασκευῆς (§ 73. 9)? If so, why should he hide his hand in this matter? If he was not a senator, but an ιδιώτης, and yet procured an order for the removal of the other ιδιώται, would not Aeschines have made more out of this exhibition of δυναστεία? Prob. he was a senator.

9. προσλαβὼν . . . ἀπειρίαν: Schol., πείσας τινὰ εὐήθη βουλευτὴν γράφαι τὸ ψήφισμα (i.e. προβούλευμα). Cf. Dem. ii. 7, τὴν γὰρ ἐκείτων ἀνοίαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ προσλαμβάνων, οὕτως ἠυξήθη.

§ 126. 1. τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο: i.e. προβούλευμα.

2. γενέσθαι δήμου ψήφισμα: this is the real crime; a mere προβούλευμα had no validity, and the mover of it was liable to be called to account for



ἐμοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα, καὶ τῶν πλείστων δὴ ἀφειμένων· οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα," φησί,  
 B "τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγο-  
 ροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς  
 τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων," εὐπρεπῶς γε  
 τῷ ὀνόματι ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσchrῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν  
 σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ

it; but a ψήφισμα was something for which the whole Athenian people stood responsible. On the relation of a προβούλευμα to a ψήφισμα see Schömann, I. p. 375 ff. Ctesiphon's bill to crown Demosthenes became a προβούλευμα at once, but was prevented by Aeschines' action from becoming a ψήφισμα though it is often called so in this oration. Cf. §§ 9, 230, 236, 237. — ἀπεληλυθότος . . . ἀφειμένων: for a similar charge of manipulating the assembly, cf. Dem. xviii. 149, where Aeschines is said to have been chosen Pylagoras, τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων. — ἀφειμένων: skilfully chosen to convey the impression of a quasi dissolution of the assembly. But as long as the presiding officer was present to put the vote (διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι) there could be no actual dissolution. Naturally enough there would be much wandering off at the end of a long session, and it was difficult either to get the citizens together or to hold them together, unless spicy business was in outlook. Cf. Ar. Ach. 22 f., οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι, κἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸ σχοίνιον φεύγουσι: τὸ μεμιλημένον. Dem. xviii. 149, οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδύτος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, shows that this fact was often taken advantage of for partisan purposes. The allegations on both sides are prob. correct. Nothing

but a trick could have sent Midias and Aeschines to Delphi when Demosthenes was leader of Athenian politics. Nothing but a trick could have kept Aeschines from attendance at the ἐκκλησία when his pet scheme of vengeance on Amphissa was defeated.

5. τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας: whoever may at the time be serving as Pylagorae. Cf. Aesch. Pr. 937, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεὶ. The expression implies that the Pylagorae were elected for each meeting. It is prob. from the absence of this phrase with τὸν ἱερομνήμονα that the latter was expected to hold his office at least till after the impending autumn meeting. See App. on § 115.

7. τεταγμένοις χρόνοις: cf. Hyperid. Epitaph. Col. vii. p. 60 (Blass), ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν. Each spring and each autumn the delegates convened at Thermopylae and adjourned to Delphi for the really important business of the league. The wording of this clause of Demosthenes' bill is general, but it contemplated this particular autumn meeting. — εὐπρεπῶς τῷ ὀνόματι: because it was in form a resolution to follow the time-honored precedent.

9. ἐξ ἀνάγκης: acc. to the Amphictyonic resolution the extra meeting, if it took place at all, was to be in advance of the regular meeting.



- 127 καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον πρόσταγμα γράφει "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα," φησί, "τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰὲ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ 5 μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκείσε συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγου μήτε ἔργου μήτε δόγματος μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς." τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τἀληθὲς εἴπω ἢ τὸ ἡδιστον ἀκούσαι; τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ αἰὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγειν οὕτως τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἔα μεμνησθαι 10 τῶν ὄρκων οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.
- 128 Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψηφίσμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτυόνες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἧς ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν

§ 127. 5. ἐκείσε: doubtless preceded in the bill of Demosthenes by some clause referring to and prohibiting this proposed extra meeting.

7 f. πότερα τἀληθὲς κτλ.: for a similar attitude of hesitation to speak out unpleasant truth, cf. Dem. ix. 46. — πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγειν κτλ.: cf. Dem. iii. 3, ὁρᾷτε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίοις εἰς πᾶν προεχέλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα. ix. 2; i. 15; iv. 38, 51; viii. 34. Aeschines is prob. not consciously 'stealing Demosthenes' thunder.' This charge of 'tickling the ears' of the people was a natural theme for mutual recrimination. Demosthenes really did this no less than Aeschines. Aeschines pandered to their sloth, Demosthenes fed their vanity. Even rebukes spiced with Marathon and the hegemony and the glorious past were not 'all unsweet.' Cf. [Aesch.] Ep. xi., τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μᾶλλον ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ χαρίζεσθαι

θέλοντες ὑμῖν δοκεῖν οὗτοι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγοναι, τὴν ὑπὸ προσηματί παρρησίας δῶδν τοῦ κολακεύειν ἐλθόμενοι (composed perhaps with ref. to Dem. iv. 51).

9. οὐκ ἔα: sc. as subj. μὴ μετέχειν. "These words, μὴ μετέχειν, forbid."

§ 128. 3. πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως: i.e. Thebes. For the destruction of Thebes by Alexander after its revolt in 335 B.C., see Grote, XI. c. 91, pp. 366 ff.; Schäfer, III. pp. 116 ff. This common refusal of Athens and Thebes marked them already as allies, though it required Philip's occupation of Elatea and the eloquence of Demosthenes to cement the alliance. — ἧς ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι: Aeschines gives notice that his great effort in pathos is coming. By this rhetorical expression the θῆβαι δέ, θῆβαι of § 133 is made to show overmastering feeling.

τοῦνομα εἵπομι μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιτο  
 5 αὐθις μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο  
 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο  
 Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφί-  
 ζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ'  
 οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύβαις οὕτω μα-  
 10 κρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημο-  
 129 σθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπήγαγον. καὶ παρελ-  
 θόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο  
 τοῖς Ἀμφισσεύσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων 72  
 χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥήτῳ χρόνῳ  
 5 προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ

4. μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ γένοιτο: see on § 38. 1.

8. ἐπιδημοῦντος: more commonly = *sojourn*, as in § 258. 6. Cf. Lycurg. 14, τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ. The inference is that from Macedonia intriguing was easy. — ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι: nay, not even in Hellas. Immediately after his repulse from Byzantium and Perinthus in the spring of 339 B.C., Philip, to whom activity was a vital element, made an incursion upon the Scythians living on the northern bank of the Danube. Perhaps he thought that his prestige, damaged by this repulse, might be repaired by a victory in a new quarter. That his withdrawal from the Greek world was 'a blind,' to enable his henchmen to work free from suspicion is unlikely.

10. ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα . . . ἐπήγαγον: it was easy for Aeschines to see that this topic would form a part of Demosthenes' oration; not only does Demosthenes (xviii. 143) make this assertion, but affirms that he asserted

it while the move was being made. καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου κτλ.

§ 129. 2. μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο: in the interval passion had cooled. Milder counsel than Aeschines would have wished prevailed. This general statement with the following specifications prob. gives the truth more nearly than Demosthenes' insinuation (xviii. 151, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν) of an intentional failure on the part of the Amphictyons.

4. ἐν ῥήτῳ χρόνῳ: an exhibition of leniency; and yet the respite must have been brief, for at the autumn meeting they were treated as delinquent. Cf. Dem. xviii. 151, εἰς τὴν ἐποῦσαν Πολλάν. Aeschines is clearly concerned to make this summer appear as long as possible. Cf. line 10, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον. The revolution and counter-revolution in Amphissa prob. took but a few days. The anti-Theban party could not hold their position after the withdrawal of the Amphictyonic contingent.



- τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετέστησαν, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐ-  
σέβειαν φεύγοντας κατήγαγον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρή-  
ματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ  
τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν στρα-  
10 τείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανελλυθότος  
Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν  
θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑμῖν παραδεδωκότων,  
τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγεννημένης.
- 130 Ἄλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προὔσήμαινον οἱ θεοὶ φυλά-  
ξασθαι, μόνον γε οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι;  
οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἐώρακα ὑπὸ  
μὲν τῶν θεῶν σφῆζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων  
5 ἀπολλυμένην. οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν

6. μετέστησαν: banishment was indeed mild, but Aeschines softens it still more by using this word rather than ἐξήλασαν. — τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φεύγοντας: see on § 113. 3.

10. ἐπανελλυθότος Φιλίππου: Philip was on hand, and made a vigorous campaign immediately after his appointment at the autumn meeting. The occupation of Elatea, if not the destruction of Amphissa (§§ 146, 147) took place before winter. See Grote, XI. c. 90, p. 299, note 5; Schäfer (2d ed.), II. p. 544, note 3.

§ 130. 1. The following impassioned amplification, intended to be pathetic, begins appropriately with an abrupt turn (ἀλλὰ) and anaphora.

2. μόνον γε οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι: see on τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι, § 121. 2. Cf. Dem. 1. 2, ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφίει. Cic. Cat. iii. 18, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis

videre possemus. Prob. an imitation of this passage.

3 f. οὐδεμίαν κτλ.: this sounds like a reminiscence of Dem. xix. 297, ὃς περ αἰεὶ σφῆζουσι τὴν πόλιν πολλῶ τῶν προσκτικῶν μᾶλλον. The same theme is handled at greater length in Dem. ii. 1, 2. Cf. i. 108. Dem. iv. 12. This belief in a special providence for Athens was an article in the creed not of the orators only. Cf. Ar. Nub. 587 ff., φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν τῇδε τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι, ταῦτα μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτητ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν. — ἐνίων: appos. with the effect of an afterthought, correcting the too sweeping ῥητόρων, by which the speaker came near putting himself in the same category with Demosthenes. Cf. Dem. xviii. 12, τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδάσκει τιμωρίας. III. 11, λέγω τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὕτως, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους.

5. τοῖς μυστηρίοις: i.e. Ἐλευσινίοις.



σημείον, ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμει-  
νιάδης μὲν προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελ-  
φούς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημο-  
σθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων,  
10 ἀπαίδεντος ὧν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιμπλάμενος τῆς  
131 δεδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον  
ἄθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερότων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέπεμψε  
τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; καίτοι

6. ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή: the remark of the Schol., λέγει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέρας, ὅτε κατελθόντων τῶν μυστῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρῆναι, ἤρπασεν ἕνα αὐτῶν τὸ κῆτος, is prob. a reminiscence of Plut. Phoc. 28, μύστην δὲ λαοῦντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρῳ λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε, though the occasion was not the same. — Ἀμεινιάδης: an Athenian soothsayer.

9. φιλιππίζειν: the currency of this newly coined verb, which took the place of μυθίζειν of a century and a half before, speaks eloquently of the weakness of Greece before a foreign invader. In this defiant scepticism Demosthenes may well have had before his mind Hector's εἰς οἰωνὸς ἔριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης, Hom. *Il.* xii. 243. That he had more recent examples before him is seen in Plut. *Dem.* 20, Δημοσθένης λέγεται τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὕπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκώς οὔτε χρησμοῖς ἐὰν προσέχειν οὔτε μαγείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππίζουσιν, ἀναμνησκῶν Ἐπαμινώνδου τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ Περικλέους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα δειλίας ἡγοῦμενοι προφάσεις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς. Cf. Cic. *Div.* ii. 118, Demosthenes quidem φιλίππιζειν Pythiam dicebat. Hoc autem eo spectabat, ut eam a Philippo corruptam diceret.

Quo licet existimare in aliis quoque oraculis Delphicis aliquid non sinceri fuisse.

10. ἀπαίδεντος: see on § 117. 5. — ἀπολαύων: equiv. to *abuti*. Cf. i. 56, ἦκε δεῦρο ἀπολελαυκὸς τῆς ἐκείνου εὐηθείας. Dem. xxiv. 52; xiii. 19. For a catalogue of indulgences extended to Demosthenes, see §§ 221, 222.

§ 131. 2. ἄθύτων: cf. § 152. 2. The meaning is illustrated by Soph. *Ant.* 1006 ff., ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων "Ἡφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σποδῷ μυδῶσα κηκίς μηρίων ἐθήκετο κτύφε κἀνέπτει and Aesch. *Ag.* 70, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν, *unaccepted sacrifices*, with Hesych., ἀπύρων = ἄθύτων. Cf. Sim. *Amorg.* 7. 56, ἔθυστα (ν. l. ἔθυστα) δ' ἱρὰ πολλὰ κίς κατεσθλει. — ἀκαλλιερότων: merely synonymous with ἄθύτων, forming with it a double expression like those so freq. in Dem. As illustrations of this in Aeschines, cf. §§ 77, 170, 174, 203, 206, 214, 238, 239, 247.

3. πρόδηλον: an inference from the inauspicious sacrifices. Aeschines' insistence on this word calls forth the reply, Dem. xviii. 196, εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῃ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων τότε ἔδει προλέγειν, and (the nobler part of it) 199, εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπασὶ πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες,

- πρώην γέ ποτε ἀπετόλμα λέγειν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιπ-  
 5 πος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ  
 καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. τίνος οὖν σὺ ζημίας ἄξιος τυχεῖν, ὦ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς  
 τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ  
 ἱερά, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσσεσθαι πρὶν  
 10 καλλιερῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερα στεφα-  
 νοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ὑπερω-  
 ρίσθαι;
- 132 Τί γάρ τοι τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγο-  
 νεν; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ'  
 εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. οὐχ ὁ μὲν  
 τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὁ τὸν Ἄθω διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσ-

οῦδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων  
 ἦν, εἰ περ ἡ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον.

4. ἀπετόλμα: cf. § 160. 5. In both  
 passages the adversary's words are  
 skilfully turned against him.—παρὰ  
 τοῦτο: for this sole reason. Cf. Di-  
 narch. i. 72, παρὰ τὶ σέσθε τὰς πόλεις  
 τότε μὲν εὖ τότε δὲ φαύλως πράττειν;  
 οὐδὲν εὐρήσετε ἄλλο πλὴν παρὰ τοὺς  
 συμβούλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. Dem. iv.  
 11, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βώ-  
 μην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν ἀμελείαν. See Whiston on  
 the latter passage.

7. ἀλιτήριε: cf. ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ,  
 Thuc. i. 126. 11 (a standing designa-  
 tion of the Alcmaeonidae as con-  
 cerned in the murder of Cylon's ad-  
 herents). Demosthenes also uses  
 this strong word of Aeschines, xviii.  
 159, ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν  
 ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων  
 ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν.

10. καλλιερῆσαι: cf. ἀκαλλιερῆτων,  
 line 2.—πότερα στεφανοῦσθαι κτλ.:

cf. § 53. 9. Since the curse-laden  
 criminal (ἀλιτήριος) carries with him  
 a μῖσμος, he should be separated living  
 and dead from his home (ὑπερωρῆσθαι),  
 the place of his evil deed. Cf. Dem.  
 xxii. 2. See Nägelsbach, *Nachhomo-*  
*rische Theologie*, p. 358. Schmidt, *Ethik*  
*der Griechen*, I. pp. 123-131. This  
 question laying it upon the jury to  
 decide between the two alternatives  
 brings the exposition of Demosthenes'  
 ἀσέβεια and ἀθεότης to a close.

§§ 132-136. Impassioned digres-  
 sion picturing the consequences of  
 this ἀσέβεια, as well as of ἀσέβεια in  
 general. A comparison of this pas-  
 sage, which is in Aeschines' best man-  
 ner, with Dem. xviii. 270 ff., which  
 also treats of the universal disaster  
 brought about by Macedonian su-  
 premacy, justifies the verdict of Quin-  
 tilian quoted Introd. § 29.

§ 132. 3 ff. See App.—ὁ τῶν Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλεύς: perpetua persona,  
 including several individual βασιλεῖς.  
 The boastful exploits of the Persian



- 5 ποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ  
τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δεσπότης ἐστὶν  
ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυομένου,  
νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι ἀγωνίζεται ἀλλ' ἥδη  
10 περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀρώ-  
133 μεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἡγεμο-  
νίας ἡξιωμένους, οἱ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡλευθέρωσαν; Θῆβαι  
δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέ-  
σης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν

kings are set over against the present humiliation of Persia, not merely for the sake of the contrast, but to remind the Athenians at the same time that the outrageous and sinful pride of the Persian kings has met its righteous punishment at the hands of Macedonia, and that Macedonia alone in the service of justice and piety has attained honor and power. In the same vein the exploits of Xerxes are enumerated, partly in the same words, in Isoc. iv. 89. [Lys.] ii. 29. Cf. Juv. x. 173 ff.

6. ὅτι δεσπότης κτλ.: cf. the boast of Cyrus, Xen. An. i. 7. 6, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρίς, πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἔρκον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα.

8. οὐ: in contrast with ἀλλ' ἥδη and subord. to οὐχ, which extends over the whole question. "Is it not true that the king is contending not" etc. Cf. §§ 210, 240.

9. σώματος σωτηρίας: the death of Darius occurred Ol. 112. 3, in Hecatombaeon (July, 330). Cf. Arr. An. iii. 22. 2. The oration was delivered about Aug. 1, before the news had reached Athens. Cf. § 254. 2. — τοὺς αὐτοὺς: the point of the whole picture to which attention is especially directed.

10. τῆς δόξης ταύτης: this can hardly refer to anything so remote as § 129. 12. It refers rather to the glory of overthrowing the Persian empire, and is nearly identical with what is added with καί. This is one of the marks of general effusiveness found in the whole passage. For similar expressions of regard for Macedonia, cf. §§ 57, 66, 129, 157, 161, 259.

§ 133. 1. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι: see on § 128. 3. Celebrated instance of ἐπανάληψις or ἀναδίπλωσις (cf. § 75. 6). The speaker wishes to arouse compassion. Cf. § 156. 5. Dem. xviii. 41.

2. ἀστυγείτων: neighbor to our city. Cf. the imitation of this passage, Dinarch. i. 24.

3. ἀνήρπασται: the sing. is not used by a grammatical figure (σχῆμα), but is due to the appos. πόλις. See Kr. Spr. 63, 1, 3. Volkmann, Rhet. der Griech. und Röm. p. 392. The following partic. are a case of construction ad sensum. H. 633. — εἰ καὶ δικαίως . . . ἀλλά: "although Alexander's vengeance was just, yet it was no merely human affair." — τῶν δλων: her vital interests. Cf. Dem. xviii. 28, τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι;



ὄλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλά-  
 5 βειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ δαιμο-  
 νίως κτησάμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι, προσ-  
 αψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οἱ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμη-  
 10 ρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπιδείξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλ-  
 λουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς ὅ τι αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριότητι κριθησό-  
 134 μνοι. ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ

4. οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι: the curse invoked by the Amphictyons (cf. § 111. 5, ἀγορᾶς) was upon them. The foolish rebellion was only one consequence of the original departure from θεοσέβεια. — θεοβλάβεια: see on § 117. 5, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου κτλ.

6. κτησάμενοι: see on τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι, § 121. 2. The partic. is causal, as is also βουλευσάμενοι. The desire to form a well-rounded period is here manifest. At least the words intervening between θεοβλάβειαν and κτησάμενοι are padding. See on § 3 in. In agreement with the verdict of θεοβλάβεια is Arr. An. i. 9. 6, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος εἰς μῆνιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνη-  
 νέχθη. — προσαψάμενοι μόνον . . . ἐξ ἀρχῆς: Sparta having been fined by the Amphictyons acting under Theban influence, for its seizure of the Cadmea in time of peace, refused payment, and lent secret support to Philomelus, which encouraged him in the spoliation of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Cf. Diod. xvi. 24, 63. In the latter passage Archidamus is spoken of as κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φωκεῖς συμμαχίαν μόνῃν βλασφημούμενος, ὡς μά-

λιστα αἴτιος γεγονὼς τῆς τῶν Δελφῶν καταλήψεως.

8 ff. ὀμηρεύσοντες . . . κριθησόμενοι: ὀμηρεύσοντες and ποιησόμενοι express purpose, πεισόμενοι and κριθησόμενοι expectation. ἀναπέμπεσθαι is mid. The sense of the passage is, "The Spartans are going to send up delegates to offer hostages and to make a display of their calamity, expecting to suffer and to be judged." Antipater had already demanded hostages on the defeat of Agis at Megalopolis in this summer (330 B.C.). Cf. Diod. xvii. 73, ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίπατρος ὁμήρους ἔλαβε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πενήτηκοντα: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς δοῦναι συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡγνοημένοις.

11. ἐν μετριότητι: after the analogy of ἐν σοὶ πάντα ἐστίν. Cf. Ar. Lys. 30, βλῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία.

§ 134. 1. κοινὴ καταφυγή: common topic with the orators, like our Fourth of July phrase, 'refuge of the oppressed and down-trodden of mankind.' Cf. Isocr. iv. in general, particularly §§ 29, 38, 54 ff.

- πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 εὐρησόμενοι, νῦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας  
 5 ἀγωνίζεται ἄλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους.  
 καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης εἰς τὴν  
 πολιτείαν παρελήλυθεν. εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἡσίο-  
 δος ὁ ποιητῆς ἀποφαίνεται. λέγει γάρ που παιδεύων  
 τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλευὼν ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ποιητοὺς  
 35 τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι. λέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ 73  
 ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν  
 ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἢ ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐταῖς  
 χρώμεθα.  
 5 πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,  
 ὅς κεν ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μητιάται.

5. ἐδάφους: Athens shorn of her glorious galaxy of dependencies, even Euboea, is now contending for that sacred soil from which her people sprung. The recollection of the ancient myth imparts a pathos to this passage, as well as a bitterness to Dem. viii. 39, κακόνους μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει. That the struggle was pushed to such an extremity Demosthenes ascribes to the malignity of Philip, while Aeschines here lays it at the door of her own ἀφροσύνη in following the lead of Demosthenes. Cf. § 57.

6. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν κτλ.: a fine case of the argument, post hoc, ergo propter hoc. Cf. Arist. Rhet. ii. 24.

7. παρελήλυθεν: suggesting underhanded procedure. The regular phrase would be προσελθεῖν (προσιέναι) πρὸς τὴν πόλιν or πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

8. ἀποφαίνεται: abs., expresses himself. Cf. i. 128, 152, 153. See on § 2. 10. — λέγει γάρ που: i.e. Op. 240 ff. The first two verses of the passage

Aeschines had already applied to Demosthenes in ii. 158.

§ 135. 2. τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάναι: Homer, Hesiod, Simonides and Theognis were made the common property of Athenian school-boys. Cf. Plato Prot. 316 d; Isocr. ii. 43. It can hardly be lack of familiarity with Homer which prompts Aeschines in i. 148 ff. to call for the reading of the passages from the Iliad by the clerk, while he quoted freely from Euripides without such assistance. Perhaps he wished to impart to the Homeric passage the formality of a document put in evidence. It is worth noticing that Lycurgus quotes from memory all his selections from the poets, epic, elegiac, and iambic.

5 ff. Verses 244, 245 are not included in the quotation, because they were aside from the speaker's purpose. — ἀπηύρα: suffered ill from. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 949, ἰδὼν γὰρ ἀπηύρα. This signif., which is later than Hom.,



τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,  
λοιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμόν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τεῖχος,

10 ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ ἀποτίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.

136 εἰάν περιελόντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς γνώμας ἐξε-  
τάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσιόδου εἶναι,  
ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ  
ναυτική καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρ-  
5 πασμέναι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

137 'Ἄλλ' οἶμαι οὔτε Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὔτ'  
ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλοι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος  
καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ  
ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῇ, τολμᾷ λέγειν

prob. arose from a confusion with similar forms of ἐπαυρίσκομαι which had this signif. in Hom. Cf. *Il.* i. 410, ἵνα πάντες ἐπαυρῶνται βασιλῆος.

§ 136. 1. περιελόντες τὸ μέτρον: but the oracles were promulgated in this same hexameter metre!

3. χρησμὸν: cf. *Lycurg.* 92, καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς ποιητῶν ὡς περ χρησμοὺς γράψαντες τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις τάδε τὰ λαμβεῖα καταλιπεῖν. The digression, §§ 132-136, is now closed with fine oratorical effect.

§ 137. 1. ἄλλ' οἶμαι: transition to the discussion of the alliance with Thebes (§§ 138-151) which led to the disaster at Chaeronea. — οὔτε Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος: two men figuring in Greek literature as proverbial scoundrels. Cf. *Plato Prot.* 327 d; *Dem.* xviii. 24. Nothing is known of what gave the Athenian Phrynonidas his reputation, but *Harpocr.*, s.v. Εὐρύβατος, states, giving Ephorus as authority, that Eurybatus, employed by Croesus as a

confidential agent, betrayed him to Cyrus.

2. μάγος: this word of Persian origin fell early into disrepute, and was used as nearly synonymous with γόης. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 387, ὅφεις μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον. For Demosthenes' protest against the application of these epithets to himself, cf. *Dem.* xviii. 276, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς εἰάν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἐαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα.

3. ὅς: causal; sc. οἷος οὗτος before it. — ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί: common with Demosthenes. Cf. xviii. 139, 158, 294; xix. 311 etc.; a current form of asseveration analogous to our 'Heavens and earth!' Cf. the quot. from a comic poet in *Ath.* 574 d, ἄλλ' Ἀλικβιδῆν τὸν ἄβρὸν, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί, δὴν ἡ Λακεδαιμὼν μοιχὸν ἐπιθυμῇ λαβεῖν. It is characteristic of Aeschines to expand this appeal by the addition of δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι. Cf. § 260. 1.



- 5 βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὥς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι  
τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῶν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐδὲ  
διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμε-  
138 τέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. καί-  
τοι πολλὰς μὲν πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θή-  
βας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν  
Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς  
5 ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεύς, πρόξενος ὦν

5. βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα: sign of impudence. Cf. Dem. xviii. 283, εἴτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τοῦτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷ;

6 ff. οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν κτλ.: disparagement of Demosthenes' influence, inconsistent with § 131. It is clear from the latter passage and Dem. xviii. 213, 214 that the situation was not regarded at Thebes as compelling her to an alliance with Athens, and that this was only brought about through the influence of Demosthenes. Corroborative is Plut. Dem. 18, ὥστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς (i.e. the Thebans) ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν . . . διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπῶσας οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων. There is, then, undoubted pertinence and justice in the reply to this carping criticism in Dem. xviii. 212, εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι. Doubtless Demosthenes lays too little stress on the occasion, which, in view of the stand previously taken in the affair of Amphissa (see on § 128, 3, κλην μᾶς πόλεως), to those who could read the logic of it, pointed Thebes to Athens as her natural ally. Much more sophistical is the attempt of Aeschines to show that Athens was

dragged into this war through the extremity of Thebes and the Theban policy of Demosthenes. Would he have his hearers forget Athens' declaration of war (340 B.C.) and the campaign around Byzantium and Perinthus?

§§ 138, 139. Curious a fortiori argument. "If these men with natural advantages for persuading Thebes failed, much more would Demosthenes fail."

§ 138, 4. Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεύς: not to be confounded with the more celebrated Thrasybulus of Steira, with whom he was associated in the occupation of Phyle and the Piræus. He had the misfortune to lose a squadron in an attack by Antalcidas near the close of the Corinthian War. Cf. Xen. Hel. v. 1. 26, 27. This was construed as treachery. Besides this he was accused of overturning the Theban constitution for money and depriving Athens of an alliance with Thebes. Cf. Lys. xxvi. 23 ff. He was, however, acquitted, and appears to have always stood in pleasant relations to Thebes. See Schäfer, I. p. 129.

5. Θράσων: cf. Dinarch. i. 38, where Thrason is mentioned in connection with Cephalus and others, who defended the independence of Thebes

- 139 Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, οὐχ ἦπτον Δημοσθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, πλεί-  
 5 στον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομένοντας αἰτίαν, Πύρρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῇ. ἀλλ' ὁμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν  
 140 δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θερταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν

against Sparta. In the alliance of Athens with Cetriporis, 350 B.C., there appears as a plenipotentiary of Athens [Θρά]σων [Ἐρ]χιεύς. CIA. II. 86 B, p. 406; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 89.

6. Λεωδάμας: cf. I. 69, 111. Mentioned in Dem. xx. 146 among the μάλιστα οἱ δεῖνοι λέγειν ἄνδρες. Acc. to *Dec. Oratt.* VII. 840 a Caecilius makes him the teacher of Aeschines. This is prob. a simple inference of Caecilius from this complimentary allusion to Leodamas.

§ 139. 2. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων: this is not saying much for Leodamas. — Ἀρχέδημος: prob. identical with the Archidamus of Plut. *De Gen. Soer.*, 575 d, who says ὡς ἐμοῦ μῆδ' ἂν εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατοικήσαντος ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοις πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐδόκουν βοιωτιάζειν.

4. Ἀριστοφῶν: cf. Dem. xviii. 162, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλευμένους πράξει ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν (i.e. τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους), καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ἀπογνωμονοῦντας ἐλ. See Schäfer, I.

5. Πύρρανδρος: mentioned I. 84, as a dignified member of the council of the Areopagus.

8. τὸ δ' αἴτιον: i.e. ἔβρις Λευκτρικῆ. Cf. Dem. xviii. 18, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φακίεας μὲν βαύλεισθαι σωθῆναι, Θηβαίους δ' ὅτιοι ἂν ἐψησθῆναι παθοῦσιν· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο. A particular exhibition of this insolence was the destruction of Plataea.

§ 140. 2. ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θερταλοῖς παρέδωκε: Philip gained Nicaea by the capitulation of Phalaecus, 346 B.C. This town, at the Locrian end of Thermopylae, had been under the control of Thebes since the extension of Theban supremacy over Locris, consequent on the victory of Leuctra. The temporary occupation by the Phocians was looked upon by the Thebans as one of the chances of war. That Philip did not allow it to revert to them, but turned it over to the Thessalians, extending the territory of the latter beyond Thermopylae, may well have been looked upon by the Thebans as a grievance. Schäfer, however, (II. p. 402) believes that it was the later occupation of the town with a Mace-



πόλεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος  
**5** ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἦδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἦπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσῆγείτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας διεσκευασμένοι,

donian garrison 342 B.C. which alienated the Thebans from Philip, and that Aeschines is wilfully perverting the truth.

4. τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον: Aeschines wishes to represent Philip's crusade against Amphissa as a continuation of the Sacred War, in which he had put down the despoilers of the temple in Delphi. The form of the expression is nearly paralleled in Dem. II. 26, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀγωνιόμηνος ἔχετε, ὥστε δι' ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν, διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαῦλων αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι;

5. Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν: cf. Strabo, IX. 3. 2, Ἐλάτεια δὲ πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐνταῦθα πόλεων καὶ ἐπικαιριωτάτη διὰ τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ τὸ τὴν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς ἐμβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν. This occupation of Elatea was prob. subsequent to Philip's destruction of Amphissa and the annihilation of a detachment of Athenian and Theban mercenaries under Chares and Proxenus who appeared for its defence. Cf. § 146. 7. Dinarch. I. 74, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφισσαν συλλεγεῖσι Πρόξενος ὁ προδότης ἐγένετο. Polyaeu. IV. 2. 8, Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσέων ἐστράτευσεν. Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τὰ στενὰ προκατελάβοντο, καὶ ἦν ἡ διόδος ἀμήχανος. οἱ στρατηγοὶ Χάρης καὶ Πρόξενος κτλ. Plut. Dem. 18, Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαι-

ρόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἐλάτειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε. Demosthenes omits all mention of the affair at Amphissa. He is interested in XVIII. 152 in proving that Amphissa was only a pretext, and that Philip's advance on Athens was as direct as possible. Aeschines (§ 146) seems to make it subsequent to the occupation of Elatea. So both Grote and Schäfer. But the fatuity of sending away 10,000 men to an outpost like Amphissa, when Philip was in such a threatening position, becomes so great that we can hardly take it for a fact. Philip's movements in this autumn and winter of 339-338 B.C. were very rapid until he took Elatea, and awaited developments in Thebes. See on § 129. 10. This coöperation of Athens and Thebes before the negotiation of a treaty is indeed somewhat strange.

7. μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους: can it be that Aeschines interprets the announcement of the occupation of Elatea, sent to Athens by Thebans of the anti-Macedonian party, as a sending for the Athenians? Demosthenes (XVIII. 215) represents the invitation as coming only after a protracted discussion in the Theban assembly, in which he took a controlling part. See on § 137. 6.

8. εἰσῆγείτε: were marching into. The use of the impf. is an endeavor to stretch the truth as far as possible. Perhaps Aeschines refers to a move-



καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν  
 141 μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν  
 ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμ-  
 μαχίας ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένους, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς  
 πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένους εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 5 ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι  
 πολεμοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος  
 Θηβαίους, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ

ment of the Athenian contingent as far as Eleusis at the suggestion of Demosthenes. Cf. Dem. xviii. 177. The marching of an Athenian army into Thebes before an alliance was formed would be incredible. That the succor rendered by the Athenians was surprisingly prompt is testified by Diod. xvi. 85, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ θαυμάσαντες τὴν δέξιττα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρουσίας. — *διεσκευασμένοι*: without the common addition *ὡς εἰς μάχην*: i.e. in military order, but as friends.

9. *μίαν μόνην*: exactly correspondent to our similarly emphatic 'one single syllable.' Cf. § 192. 8. Lycurg. 67, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λογιέσθε εἰ εἰς ἔστι μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπος. Hom. Od. xxiii. 227, μία μούνη.

§ 141. 1. ὁ δ' εἰσάγων κτλ.: triumphant Q. E. D. following upon the *reductio ad absurdum* to which Demosthenes' οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον (§ 137. 6) has now been subjected.

3. *ἐπεὶ*: illogical: what follows is in no sense a proof of the preceding statement.

4. *τρία . . . εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε*: topic deferred at § 84 for the sake of a chronological order.

5. *πρῶτον μὲν*: before the correlative, *δεύτερον δέ*, § 145. 1, there is a striking recurrence of *μὲν* and *δέ*. —

*τῷ ὀνόματι*: this could be less appropriately said of the time since 340 B.C. than of the long and desultory warfare that closed with the Peace of Philocrates. It is proof enough of Aeschines' perversion of the facts that while Philip tried to win over the Thebans by ambassadors, we hear of no such attempt being made at Athens, unless Plutarch's *εἰρηνηκῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ Φιλίππου* (Phoc. 16) be so construed. See on § 148. 6. It is not unlikely that an invasion of Attica lay in Philip's thoughts when he occupied Elatea. On the other hand it must have been evident to the Thebans that their old status as independent allies of Philip must henceforth cease. If they coöperated with him further, it must be as subordinates.

7. *ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε*: see on § 62 *fin.* Philip's severer treatment of Thebes after Chaeronea may be accounted for by the resentment felt towards old allies now turned enemies. His leniency to Athens after he had spent his wrath on Thebes is amply accounted for by the reflection that Athens was still a formidable naval power, and might remain so even after the destruction of the city (as before the battle of Salamis), which might have been no easy task. The destruction of

τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρίψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 12 γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ  
 πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βου-  
 λεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀγαπᾶν μόνον εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἑκδοτον  
 5 μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας  
 ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, εἰάν τις ἀφιστῇται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων,  
 βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι

Athens was doubtless farthest from the thoughts of Philip, which were now directed towards the invasion of Persia. The coöperation of the Athenian navy was well nigh essential to the success of that enterprise. See Grote, XI. c. 90, p. 313.

9. ἀπεκρίψατο: as if Demosthenes had a secret understanding of Philip's plans which were prob. known only to Philip himself.

142. 2. μηκέτι βουλεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι: cf. Dem. xviii. 178, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρός), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, εἰάν κελεύωσιν, a passage which stands out in grand contrast to pettiness of the present utterance of Aeschines, and constitutes the chief proof of Demosthenes' claim that he acted in the spirit of the Athenians who fought at Salamis. See on § 93. 5.

4. μόνον: seems to have no proper significance unless joined closely with the following, which would be a unique case. Analogous is the use with the inv. Cf. Plato *Gorg.* 494 d, ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου μόνον. Eur. *Cycl.* 219, μὴ με καταπίης μόνον, where it is equiv. to German *mal* for *einmal*. — τοῦτο: i.e. τὴν συμμαχίαν γίνεσθαι. — ἑκδοτον

... Θηβαίοις: a strong Boeotia as a bar to Philip's progress (parallel to 'big Bulgaria' as a bar to Russia) could only be secured by a subordination of the other cities to Thebes. This was a departure from the traditional policy of Athens, which was to maintain the independence of Thespiæ and Plataea, on the same principle on which Thebes in the day of her power planted Megalopolis as a 'thorn in the flesh' to Sparta. Cf. Dem. vi. 30, where Demosthenes represents his opponents as saying Φίλιππος δ', ὅπερ εὐξαισθ' ἂν ἡμεῖς, εἰάν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. That Aeschines tried to get Philip to act in the line of this traditional policy, as the latter was doubtless only too ready to do, appears from II. 119, ἐγὼ γὰρ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ μὲν ὦν ἤξιωσα, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς ἦκον ἀπὸ ἡγγέλων, ὅτι τὰς Θήβας Βοιωτῶν δίκαιον ἡγούμεν εἶναι καὶ μὴ τὴν Βοιωτῶν Θήβας.

7. Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις: this phrase of the bill was prob. intended, not as Aeschines insinuates, merely to put a fair face upon the action of the Athenians, but also to suggest to the really subjugated Boeotians (ἐργῶ



κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 10 σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μάλ-  
 143 λον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· δεύ-  
 τερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο  
 μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ  
 δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τού-  
 5 των, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε  
 κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν,  
 εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε

κακῶς πάσχοντας) that it was after all their brothers in Thebes who were leading them on. It suggests that Thebes is now practically merged in Boeotia. The phrase ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, which would counteract any such effect, can be no part of the bill, but must be an addition of the speaker.

8. ὥς κτλ.: because, forsooth, he thought the Boeotians would be contented with, etc. ὥς is to be taken with ἀγαπήσοντας (acc. abs., G. 278, 2, κ.; H. 974), and has the same force as with other causal participles. G. 277, 6, κ. 2 a.

9. τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν: i.e. the phrase, Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις. Cf. Aeschines' description of Demosthenes as ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, § 229. 8.

§ 143. 1. δεύτερον δέ: correlative with μέν in § 142. 5.

2. τὰ δύο μέρη: for the art. with numerals denoting a part of a whole number, see H. 664. If Aeschines here tells the truth, it would give especial point to Demosthenes' allusion (xviii. 238) to the Athenians furnishing at Salamis διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν.

3. ἀνέθηκεν: prop. lay a burden on.

Cf. Ar. Eq. 1056, καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθείη. Then of a burden of care. Cf. Ar. Nub. 1452 f., ταυτὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Νεφέλαι, πέπονθ' ἐγώ, ὑμῖν ἀναθεῖς ἅπαντα τὰμὰ πράγματα. Thuc. viii. 82. 1, στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν (i.e. Alcibiades) εὐθὺς εἵλοντο καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντα ἀνετίθεσαν. Plut. Per. 32, τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευν μόνῃ ἀναδείξαι αὐτήν.

7. εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν: not to mince matters. The same phrase occurs Dem. xviii. 297, except that μὴ follows δεῖ. See App. Similar yet not identical in meaning are Aesch. Pr. 604, μὴ μάτην φλύσαι θέλων and Dem. xviii. 159, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τὰληθὲς εἰπεῖν δεῖσι. — ἄρδην φέρων: the Athenians doubtless stipulated for as much control of the joint land army as was conceded to the Boeotians in the case of the navy. Of a subordination of Athens to the control of Thebes there is not the slightest trace anywhere except here. It is not improbable that the stipulation as to the supreme command of the land army was drawn up as in Thuc. v. 47. 7, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἢ μεταπεμφαμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχεται, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ. ἢν δέ ποί δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ στρα-



παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ὑμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῆς  
 144 τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατη-  
 γορῶ ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ λέγω καὶ  
 πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε.  
 ἐκείνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε  
 5 ἤδη τὰδικήματα αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. δεῖ  
 δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

145 Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο μείζον ἀδίκημα ἡδίκη-  
 σεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς

τεύεσθαι, τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι  
 πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν. — ἀνέθηκε Θηβαί-  
 οῖς: gains point by contrast with ὑμῶν  
 ἀνέθηκεν line 3.

8. παρὰ: cf. § 37. 3. — Στρατοκλέα:  
 Diod. xvi. 85 mentions Chares and  
 Lysicles as the Athenian generals.  
 But Polyæn. iv. 2. 2 mentions Stra-  
 tocles and ascribes to him the fol-  
 lowing words uttered in the first suc-  
 cess of the Athenians, οὐ χρὴ ἀποστήναι  
 προσκειμένους, ἕως ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους  
 κατακλείσωμεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

9. βουλευσασθαι: dependent on κύ-  
 ριος. GMT. 93, 1; H. 952.

§ 144. 1. οὐκ: covering the clauses  
 introduced by μέν and δέ. It is not  
 true that I appear as an accuser while  
 others fail to do so. Cf. Dem. xviii.  
 288, καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ  
 τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ  
 ἄλλως πως, 13 (?), 179, 323; ix. 27  
 and a full collection of examples in  
 Rehdantz's Lycurg. 65.

3. οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε: i.e. you acquit  
 him as often as he is brought to trial.  
 Reverse side of Dem. xviii. 249.

4. πρὸς Δημοσθένην: usage hardly

recognized by the grammars and lex-  
 icons, nearly equiv. to πρὸς or ὑπὸ  
 with gen. Cf. Isocr. ii. 42, ἀλλὰ πε-  
 πόνθασιν ὑπὲρ πρὸς τοὺς νομβητοῦντας.  
 Dem. xviii. 36, τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν  
 πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει  
 γενέσθαι. — συνείθισθε . . . οὐ θαυμά-  
 ζετε: for the same representation of  
 Demosthenes' faults as notorious, cf.  
 § 53, 175. Cic. Mil. 76 contains a  
 similar description of Clodius, sed  
 nescio quomodo jam usu ob-  
 duruerat et percalluerat civi-  
 tatis incredibilis patientia.

145. 1. Δεύτερον δέ: see on πρῶ-  
 τον μέν, § 141. 5. Demosthenes' first  
 crime was the unfair terms of the  
 alliance; the second, his tyrannical  
 behavior.

2. τὴν δημοκρατίαν: recurrence of  
 the keynote of the oration. See on  
 §§ 1. 3, 6. 13, 8. 14.

3. ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος: the supple-  
 mentary partic. with λαμβάνειν has  
 been hitherto used in the pass., of  
 those who are victims of fraud, §§ 5,  
 11, 35. The prep. intensifies the idea  
 of fraud already expressed in ἔλαθεν.

τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινωσίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιω-  
 5 τάρχαις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυνα-  
 στείαν κατεσκευάσεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρε-  
 σβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, κἂν μὴ ὑμεῖς  
 146 ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι, κατα-  
 δουλούμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ  
 ἀντιλέγειν διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ

— *eis τὴν Καδμείαν*: hinting that that most extravagant hope of the Thebans at the summit of their military power was now fulfilled for them by Demosthenes. Cf. II. 105, "Ἐπαμεινώνδας, οὐχ ὑποπτήξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα, εἶπε διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θεβαίων ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολεως προπύλαια μετενέγκειν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας.

4. *τὴν κοινωσίαν . . . συνθέμενος*: the proposal made by Demosthenes on the first appointment of ambassadors to Thebes (cf. Dem. XVIII. 178, μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονήσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ τότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου) looked to a granting of special powers to such ambassadors. This would become more necessary after the campaign was actually opened. Demosthenes was doubtless the controlling spirit among the ambassadors. That he usurped some of the functions of the generals is not unlikely, since he regarded the whole enterprise as his affair. Stanton's relations to McClellan furnish a parallel situation. — *Βοιωτάρχαις*: a council of thirteen members elected by the different Boeotian communities. Thebes furnished two of these members. Their functions were prob. both civil and military. The presidency appears to have been exercised in rotation. Cf.

Thuc. iv. 91, ii. 2. 1, vii. 30. 3. οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες, § 151. 6, are prob. the same officials. In reference to their military leadership, cf. Pollux, i. 128, Θεβαίων δὲ Ἰδιον Βοιωτάρχης καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς.

5. *συνθέμενος*: concocting. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 144, εὖ πρῶγμα συντεθὲν ὤψεσθε.

— *δυναστεῖαν*: see on τὰς δυναστείας, § 3. 10. Acc. to Plut. Dem. 18, Demosthenes controlled not only his fellow-ambassadors and the generals, but also the Boeotarchs and the Theban assemblies, ἐπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιοῦντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἦσαν ἢ ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θεβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων.

6. *πρεσβεύσειν ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ*: as it is not likely that Demosthenes ever talked to the Athenians in this way, it is prob. that Aeschines is giving a sinister interpretation to the following reasonable proposition made by Demosthenes acc. to the Schol., Δημοσθένης τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ Φίλιππος μάθων ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμπομεν πεμπῇ τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας καὶ ἀντιπρεσβευσομένους· βούλομαι λάβρα ὑμῶν πρεσβεῦσαι.

§ 146. 1 ff. εἰ δέ τις . . . ἀντίποι, . . . ἔφη γράψαι: δέ is correlative to μὲν, § 145. 7. The two expressions that are really balanced are πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη and διαδικασίαν ἔφη γρά-



στρατήγιον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη πε-  
 5 πονθέναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγίου. μι-  
 σθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις καὶ στρατιωτικὰ  
 χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας  
 Ἀμφισσεῦσι πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος  
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων τὸν κίνδυνον  
 14 ἁπαρσκεύῃ τῇ πόλει. τί γὰρ ἂν οἴσθε Φίλιππον ἐν

ψιν, both introduced by ὅστε. — τοὺς  
 ἄρχοντας: civil magistrates. — διαδικα-  
 σίαν: this was a suit between rival  
 claimants for an article which neither  
 of them had in possession. Cf. Bek-  
 ker, *Anecd.* I. 236, διαδικασία· οὐχ  
 ἀπλῶς πᾶσα δίκη διαδικασία καλεῖται,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς περὶ τινος ἀμφισβήτησις  
 ἐστίν, ὅτῃ προσήκει μᾶλλον. See Meier  
 and Schömann, *Att. Proc.*, p. 471 ff.  
 Such a suit was that for which Lys.  
 xvii. was composed. From 'ques-  
 tion of prior claim' to 'question of  
 prior fault' (Dem. viii. 57) is an easy  
 transition. Here the 'question' in-  
 volved is one of jurisdiction. — τῷ  
 βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατήγιον: the other  
 magistracies being silenced, it only  
 remained to subordinate 'headquar-  
 ters' to the 'platform,' and the τυραν-  
 νίς was complete.

4. πλείω γὰρ . . . τῶν στρατηγῶν:  
 this is hardly more than Demosthenes  
 actually claims (xviii. 229 ff.). See  
 App.

6. κεναῖς χώραις: this alleged re-  
 porting (in collusion with the generals  
 of course) of more men as present than  
 were actually present, in order to in-  
 crease the ostensible pay-roll and put  
 the surplus into his own pocket, may  
 have this basis of fact, that Demos-  
 thenes, in this crisis, was not able to  
 suppress, or even winked at, what was  
 doubtless a common custom in the  
 mercenary armies of Athens at this

time. Cf. I. 113, πεμφθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ'  
 ὁμῶν ἐξεταστῆς τῶν ἐν Ἑρετρίᾳ ξένων,  
 μόνος τῶν ἐξεταστῶν ὁμολογεῖ λαβεῖν  
 ἀργύριον. If the official examiners  
 (ἐξετασταί), sent out to correct the  
 suspected fraud, also shared on occa-  
 sions the profits of the 'ring,' the  
 fault must have become well-nigh  
 incurable. Similar corruption on a  
 grand scale is said to exist in the  
 Russian army at the present time.

7. τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας:  
 that little could be said in defence of  
 this piece of strategy, which was prob.  
 Demosthenes' own, is shown by the  
 fact that no mention is made of it in  
 his oration. The fact that this item  
 is mentioned after the occupation of  
 Elatea does not compel us to aban-  
 don the chronology adopted on § 140.  
 5; particularly as Aeschines himself  
 here puts it in a time when he had  
 not given up the hope of a successful  
 opposition to Demosthenes.

9. φέρων: see on § 82. 8. — προσέ-  
 μιξε τὸν κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει: inversion  
 of Pind. *Ol.* i. 22, κράτει δὲ προσέμιξε  
 δεσπότην.

10. ἁπαρσκεύῃ: carries the main  
 emphasis. "Demosthenes' reckless  
 waste of the detachment of 10,000  
 mercenaries left Athens without the  
 proper force at the crisis."

§ 147. 1. τί γὰρ ἂν οἴσθε Φίλιπ-  
 πον . . . εὐξασθαι: form of demon-  
 stration current since Homer. Cf. *Il.*



τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὐξασθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν χωρὶς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης  
 5 πληγῆς προγεγενημένης; καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ. οὐδ' ἱκανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναρρηθήσε-  
 10 ται, τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ. οὕτως, ὥς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

i. 255, ἡ κεν γηθῆσαι Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες. Dem. viii. 20, εἰθ' ἂν Φίλιππος ἂν εὐξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ἡμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; xviii. 176, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὐξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν.

3. πολιτικὴν δύναμιν: citizen soldiery of Athens. Cf. § 98. 2. Equiv. to οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν, Dem. iv. 44 and μέρος τι πόλεως, iv. 45. The Athenians were now thoroughly aroused, and had adopted Demosthenes' suggestion (cf. xviii. 177) of a wholesale enlistment (τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ) though he had received many a rebuff before for suggesting even the mildest form of personal military service. The balancing of this phrase with τοὺς ξένους would seem to imply that the whole mercenary force was in the affair at Amphissa, and only citizen soldiers in the Boeotian campaign.

4. ἀθύμους: the reverse of this, Philip's courage to seize Elatea and enter upon his great aggressive campaign, is ascribed by Plutarch (cf. l.c. on § 140. 5) to this affair.

5. πληγῆς: the metaphorical use of the word is mostly poetic.

6. ἀγαπᾷ: of freq. occurrence in

Aeschines. Cf. §§ 20. 7, 142. 4, 10, 160. 6.—εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν: in virtually causal relation to ἀγαπᾷ. See on § 10. 4. The same is true of the two following prots. and εἰ ἀπολειφθήσεται, § 149. 4. Cf. Isocr. xvi. 49, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγανακτῶ, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ τοῦτω δώσω δίκην, δεύτερον δ' εἰ ἀτιμωσθήσομαι, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰ τίσις μὲν μέγα δυνήσεται, ἐγὼ δ' εἰ κακῶς πελοσμαι.

10. τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ: close of a most successful climax. "From barely escaping deserved punishment to demanding an unheard of distinction is a giddy flight. But Demosthenes is indignant if he fails even of this last distinction." The repetition of ἀγανακτεῖ contributes not a little to the effect. τοῦτο is the emphatic word. ἤδη (cf. § 159. fin.) marks Demosthenes' haste as unseemly. Different is Dem. xviii. 193, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ ('then and not till then'). ἀγανακτεῖν is a favorite word with Aesch. Cf. §§ 142, 144.—ὥς ἔοικε: usually bitter (cf. § 152. fin. Dem. xviii. 203); often ironical (cf. § 150. 2. Dem. xviii. 212).

11. δημοσίας συμφοράς: i.e. not

- 48 Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὁ μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονούντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοούντος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύμετος, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ μέρει δια-  
 5 γωνιέται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλλοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβουμένων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίν-

merely the loss of the mercenaries, but also the public disgrace incurred by crowning the unworthy man who had caused that loss. The preceding climax is constructed to lead up to this sententious utterance which closes the topic in Aeschines' usual manner. — ἀπεργάζε-ται: a general sentiment, "such license always works out such disasters."

§ 148. 1. τρίτον: the third crime was the rash forcing of the combat when Philip hesitated. — μέγιστον: notice the climax in the three crimes (§ 145. 1, δεύτερον μείζον). Yet all three are called πάντων μέγιστα at the outset (§ 141. 4).

3. ἀσύμετος: as Demosthenes liked to represent him.

4. ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ μέρει: mirrored in Plut. Dem. 20, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας, where τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν are more nearly specified in τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος.

5. βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην: this desire is ascribed by Plutarch to the effect of Demosthenes' oratory. Cf. Plut. Dem. 18, οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἔργον, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης.

6. πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλλοντος: i.e. to Athens and Thebes, over

and above the embassy already sent to Thebes to induce it to join in a campaign against Athens, described Dem. xviii. 211 ff. The word μέλλοντος would prove, in spite of the passage just quoted from Plutarch, that the embassies were not sent. Aeschines would not understate Philip's efforts in the direction of peace. It is not unlikely that Philip insinuated that he was anxious for peace in order to induce the Athenians to make the first actual overtures, repeating the ridiculous situation of 346 B.C. This supposition accords well with Plut. Phoc. 16, εἰρηνικῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ Φιλίππου. If Philip had made a bona fide offer of peace, and had been a man in whose word Athens could trust, it would have been criminal for Demosthenes to open the campaign without a well-grounded confidence in the military superiority of the allies. All this is assumed by Spengel (*Vertheidigung des Ktesiphon*, p. 53) though it is far more than even Aeschines asserts. See on § 141. 5.

7. φοβουμένων: cf. Plut. Dem. 18, where one effect upon the Thebans of Demosthenes' speaking is given in the words ὥστε φόβον ἐκβαλεῖν. Dem. xviii. 213 gives the same picture of fear at Thebes.



δυνον, εικότως· οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπῶν  
 τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος  
 10 δεκέτης γεγωνὺς ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσεν,  
 149 τούτων δὲ ἐχόντων οὕτως αἰσθόμενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ  
 τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποι-  
 εῖσθαι χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόντας,  
 ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι εἴ τινας ἀπολειφθήσεται δωρο-  
 5 δοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων  
 λέγοντος οὐθ' ὥς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι εἰρήνην οὐθ' ὥς οὐ δεῖ,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀνα-  
 150 φέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο τὴν Ἀθη-

8. εικότως· γὰρ: common colloca-  
 tion of the orators. Cf. § 10. 3;  
 Dem. xviii. 204, εικότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς; It occurs nine times in Ly-  
 curg. (one oration). — ῥήτωρ ἀστρά-  
 τευτος καὶ λιπῶν τὴν τάξιν: see on  
 § 175. 7.

9. Φωκικὸς πόλεμος: cf. Plut. Dem.  
 18, ἐτι τῶν Φωκικῶν τραυμάτων νεαρῶν  
 παραμενόντων.

10. παιδείαν: see on § 2. 4.

§ 149. 4. ἀβίωτον: not worth liv-  
 ing. Abs. as here, Plato Rep. 407 a,  
 οὐ ἀναγκαζομένην ἀπέχεσθαι ἀβίωτον.  
 In agreement with Slos, Dem. xxi.  
 131, ἀβίωτον φέει' ἔσεσθαι τὸν βίον  
 ἐαυτῷ. — εἴ τινας ἀπολειφθήσεται δω-  
 ροδοκίας: Aeschines injures his case  
 by imputing impossible motives to De-  
 mosthenes. The insinuation against  
 the Boeotarchs is prob. equally un-  
 founded. If, however, the latter,  
 with an eye single to the interest of  
 Thebes, were about to make a sepa-  
 rate peace (ἰδίᾳ), as Aeschines asserts  
 Demosthenes to have suspected, the  
 vehemence of the latter needs no  
 ample justification.

5. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: a reference to  
 § 256. 4 and Plut. Dem. l.c. on § 145. 5  
 might seem to make this refer to the  
 Theban assembly. It is also clear  
 that Philip was making overtures of  
 peace not to Athens but to Thebes.  
 But since conduct like that described  
 in § 150. 4 f. would be impossible in  
 Thebes, the meaning of the passage  
 prob. is that Demosthenes was speak-  
 ing in the Athenian assembly, know-  
 ing that the report of his speech  
 would produce an immediate effect  
 in Thebes.

7. προκηρύττων: of a public offi-  
 cial command. Cf. Soph. Ant. 461,  
 καὶ μὴ σὺ προδκήρυξας, *ibid.* 34, ταῦτα  
 τοῖσι μὴ εἰδῶσιν σαφῇ προκηρύξοντα.  
 The corresponding subst. is, as here,  
 κήρυγμα. Cf. Soph. Ant. 8. The im-  
 plication is that the honest Boeotarchs  
 misunderstood the order to divide  
 the spoils, and so the campaign be-  
 gan, contrary to Demosthenes' real  
 wish.

§ 150. 1. διώμνυτο τὴν Ἀθηναίων:  
 cf. Dinarch. i. 47, ἐπιωρκηκὸς μὲν τὰς  
 σεμνὰς θεὰς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-  
 λους θεοὺς οὐκ ἐκεῖ διώμνυσθαι νόμιμον



νᾶν, ἣν ὡς ἔοικε Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐνεπιорκεῖν Δημοσθένει, ἥ μὴν εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ὡς χρή πρὸς 75 Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτή-  
 5 ριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεο-  
 φῶντος πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πο-  
 λέμου, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. ὡς δ' οὐ προσ-  
 εἶχον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους πάλιν ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθό-

ίστιν. The prep. in the compound makes it a strong oath, prob. accompanied by an imprecation of ἐξώλεια upon the speaker. See on § 99. 5. For a similar use of the acc. of the divinity sworn by and the following inf., cf. Xen. An. vi. 6. 17, δμῦμι θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς ἥ μὴν μήτε με Ξενοφῶντα κελευσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε ἄλλον ὁμῶν μηδένα.

2. ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο: prob. the celebrated chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon. Yet it is not unlikely that the speaker had in mind the reference of Dem. xix. 272, to the bronze statue of Athene Promachos.—ὡς ἔοικε: see on § 147. 10.—ἐνεργολαβεῖν: see on § 33. 4. Note the force of the prep. ἐν in this word and in ἐνεπιорκεῖν.

4. ἀπάξειν: as a malefactor caught in *flagrante delicto*. "The term ἀπαγωγή was applied to the prosecution of criminals taken in the act and at once brought before the proper authority." Schömann, I. p. 478. Cf. Hyperid. Euxen. Col. 22, ἀπαγωγῆς ἔξια ποιεῖ· ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐνδεκα καθέστηκε.

5. Κλεωφῶντος πολιτείαν: cf. ii. 76, Κλεωφῶν ἀποκόψειν ἡπείλει μαχαίρᾳ τὸν τράχηλον, εἰ τις τῆς εἰρήνης μνησθήσεται. Lys. xiii. 8-12, xxx. 10-13. Cleophon's character is best illustrated by the closing remark of the

latter passage, following the statement of his execution by the Thirty, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ διὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὠργί-  
 ζεσθε τοῖς τριάκοντα, ὅτι οὐ τῶν ἀδικη-  
 μάτων ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ κατὰ στάσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. This and the repeated jibes of Aristophanes (cf. Ran. 679, 1504, 1532) would not prove him to be more contemptible than Cleon. On the contrary, Lys. xix. 48 speaks of him as a sort of Aristides or Lycurgus: Κλεωφῶντα δὲ πάντες ἴστε, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐτὶ διεχείρισε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα καὶ προσεδόκατο πάμπολλα ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν· ἀποθανόντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῶς ἐῆλα τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ προσήκοντες ὁμολογουμένως πένητές εἰσιν. He was an impetuous man, and made the mistake, only discovered after the event, of rejecting the overtures of peace made by the Spartans after their defeat at Arginusae, and so bringing on the complete humiliation of Athens in the following year. See Schol. on Ar. Ran. 1532. The parallel between Demosthenes and Cleophon would have lent itself to Aeschines' purpose without prevocation.

8. οἱ ἄρχοντες: i.e. Βοιωτάρχαι.

9. στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀνέστρεψαν: rather remarkable contrast to the description of Dem. xviii. 215.

151 τας, ἵνα βουλευσάσθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεκάλει, καὶ γράψειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδεπώποτ' ἀντιβλέψας πέμπειν  
 5 ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ὑπεραισχυνηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδότες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὤρμησαν.

152 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξιὸν ἐστὶν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερῆτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς

§ 151. 2. ἔκφρων ἐγένετο: the facts being as Aeschines puts them, this item would be greatly to Demosthenes' credit.

3. προδότας: pred.; sc. αὐτοῦς, i.e. the Boeotarchs. — ἀπεκάλει: for the impf., see on § 118. 7. The prep. in this compound, meaning *stigmatize*, had originally the same force as in ἀπετόλμα, § 131. 4, without reserve.

4. ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις κτλ.: see on § 175 in.

6 ff. ὑπεραισχυνηθέντες κτλ.: so, even acc. to Aeschines' own representation, it was Demosthenes' talk that produced the final result. Aeschines seems to have fallen out of the role which he took up at § 137, and played with such earnestness until he reached ἐπεὶ, § 141. 3, q.v. Sections 149–151 produce the most unpleasant impression of any part of the oration, and cannot have impressed the jury favorably.

§§ 152–158. Amplification (like §§ 130 ff.), closing the discussion of the

third period of Demosthenes' political activity.

§ 152. 2 f. ἀθύτων . . . κίνδυνον: cf. § 131. 2, 3. The repetition of phrases is characteristic of Aeschines. Compare § 141. 2 with § 239. 5. A collection of examples is given by Blass (*Alt. Beredsamkeit*, III. 2, pp. 194, 195), accompanied by the remark "So schreibt kein Stilkünstler."

4. δραπέταις: in prose mostly as subst. Cf. Dinarch. 1. 82, ἐν τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι πρεσβυτῆς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυταῖς δραπέτης ἐστίν. Prob. current in popular speech in its original adj. signification. Cf. Eur. Or. 1498, δραπέτην γὰρ ἐξέλεπτον ἐκ δόμων πόδα. The contrast with ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν is effective. On Demosthenes' flight at Chaeronea, cf. Plut. Dem. 20, ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογούμενον ἔργον οἷς εἶπεν ἀποδειξάμενος ᾗχετο λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν ἀποδρὰς αἰσχίστα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα βίψας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὡς ἔλεγε Πιθέας, αἰσχυνηθείς, ἐπιγεγραμμέ-



- 5 ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν. ὦ πρὸς  
 μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμα-  
 σιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τού-  
 των πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως  
 10 συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; ἂν δ' οὗτος λέγῃ, ὑμεῖς ὑπο-  
 μενεῖτε καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν, ὡς ἔοικε,  
 13 καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν  
 διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ  
 νομίσασθ' ὅρᾳ προῖοντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψη-  
 φίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσιν γίνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσα-

νης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς. Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
 The confidence expressed by the  
 Athenians in electing Demosthenes  
 to speak the funeral oration over  
 the dead breaks the point of these  
 thrusts. Cf. Plut. Dem. 21. See on  
 § 175, 1.

5. ἐκείνων: remarkable case of  
 transition from rel. to dem. within  
 the same clause. The transition is  
 facilitated by the length of the clause.  
 Cf. Xen. Hier. vi. 1, βούλομαι σοι κἀ-  
 κείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι ὅσαις ἐγὼ  
 χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ιδιώτης, νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τύ-  
 ραντος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος  
 αὐτῶν. Different are the transitions  
 in §§ 118, 211. — ὦ πρὸς . . . θαυμασι-  
 ώτατε: effective ὁμοϊόπτωτον, cited  
 with admiration by Alex. (Spengel,  
 Rhet. Graec. III. p. 36), κλητικὴ γὰρ  
 πτώσις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κώλων τέ-  
 ται. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 169, 186. The  
 latter half is quoted by Plutarch,  
 Dem. 9.

8. βλέπων εἰς κτλ.: cf. § 137, 5.

12. ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη: emphatic by  
 position, closing the period with De-  
 mosthenic effect.

§ 153. 1. γένεσθε τὴν διάνοιαν:

this figure, διατύπωσις (see Spengel,  
 Rhet. Graec. III. p. 25), is a favor-  
 ite with Aeschines. Cf. §§ 157, 180,  
 186, 244, 257. It is one feature  
 of his pathetic style. Cf. §§ 133 ff.  
 Volkmann (Rhet. der Griech. und  
 Röm., p. 417) calls this appeal eido-  
 lopoeia, not classifying it as a figure.  
 For the const. of διάνοιαν, cf. I. 179,  
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐφ' ἑτέρων γένησθε. Dem.  
 LII. 2, μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων τὴν γνώμην γε-  
 νόμενοι. The dat. is used in the same  
 connection, § 186, 1.

7. ἐπεισιούσιν: used § 231. 2 of  
 the poet. Cf. § 204. 9. Note the  
 force of the prep. ἐπὶ.

8. ἀγνωμοσύνη: opp. of εὐγνωμο-  
 σύνη, § 170. 7; not merely an intellec-  
 tual but a moral fault, callousness.  
 Cf. Dem. xviii. 207, τῇ τῆς τύχης  
 ἀγνωμοσύνῃ.

§ 154. 2. Ἑλλήν: possibly a sting  
 at Demosthenes, who is described,  
 § 172. 10, as ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης,  
 βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φώνῃ. — παιδε-  
 νεῖς: see on σὺδεμιὰς παιδείας μετεσχη-  
 κώς, § 117. 5.

4. ὥσπερ νυν: the supposition of  
 § 153 is still kept up.



- 5 σθε πότερ' οἶεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων  
 πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαις καὶ τοῖς  
 ἥρωικοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεισιούσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 154 τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄν-  
 θρωπος Ἑλλήν καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθερίως, ἀναμνησθεὶς  
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν γίγνε-  
 5 σθαι, ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστά-  
 ταις ἐχρήτο, προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς  
 ὀρφανούς ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτη-  
 κότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ  
 κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν,  
 10 ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβης  
 ὁ δῆμος ἔθρεψε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ  
 ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ

5. **προστάταις**: cf. Dinarch. i. 76, μία αὕτη σωτηρία καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους ἐστὶ, τὸ προστατῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ συμβούλων σπουδαίων τυχεῖν, where from the connection the word is equiv. to στρατηγός. The meaning *champion* (cf. Dem. xv. 30, κοινοὶ προστάται τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας), with an allusion to the days when, before the present system of mercenary soldiers came into vogue, citizen fathers used to fall in battle leaving orphans, is tempting.

7. **ὀρφανούς**: this care of children of citizens fallen in battle, said to be an ordinance of Solon (Diog. Laert. i. 55), is mentioned by Pericles (Thuc. ii. 46), Hyperides (Stob. Flor. 124. 36), and Plato (*Menez.* 248 c). These wards of the state on attaining their majority (see on § 122. 8) were at the succeeding Great Dionysia discharged

from this care with impressive ceremonies.

9. **προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν**: cf. i. 191, τὰ τῶν νέων ζηλήματα ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψατε. Lycurg. 10, τοὺς νεωτέρους ἀπαντας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψετε. Aeschines is fond of representing exhortation to virtue as his affair. Cf. i. 117, where he calls his own speech *παράκλησις τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν*. II. 180, ἀναμνησθέντες ὅτι τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης παράκλησιν διὰ τῆς περὶ Τίμαρχον κρίσεως ἀειμνήσας αὐτοὺς παρὰκέκληκα. This gives point to Dem. xviii. 127, σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία;

11. **μέχρι ἡβης**: used loosely including the two years of ἐφηβεία. See on § 122. 8.

13. **ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ**: with a 'God bless you.' Common motto, used as an inscription on Demosthenes' shield at

155 εἰς προεδρίαν. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἷτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ; καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ διεξίη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προστάγματα, ἄλλ' οὐ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχροὺς σιωπήσεται ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας τὸν ἀνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα 56 τὴν τάξιν. μὴ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τρόπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μὴδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, μὴδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνη- 6 κέστων κακῶν τοὺς τάλαιπῶρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τεῖχη καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασι-

Chaeronea. Cf. Plut. l.c. on § 152. 4. Dem. III. 18, ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω; ταῦτα ποιεῖτ' ἀγαθὴ τύχη. — τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: to betake themselves to their own resources.

14. προεδρίαν: see on § 76. 3. This was a distinction which they would never enjoy again except through merit. It was intended as a spur.

§ 155. 2. τῆς ὀρφανίας αἷτιον: cf. Lys. xxvi. 12, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἑστεφανωμένον καὶ ὀρφανῶν κύριον γεγεννημένον, ὧν ἐνίοις αὐτὸς οὗτος τῆς ὀρφανίας αἷτιος γεγέννηται. In the present passage the sting is sharper.

3. αὐτὰ τὰ προστάγματα: the mere specifications.

4. ἄλλά: yet. Cf. § 157. 2.

5. τὰναντία: i.e. while the herald is saying ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, the shameful truth in louder tones will thunder, τὸν κάκιστον καὶ τὸν ἀνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. The former

words are put as a literal quotation from Ctesiphon's bill. Cf. § 49. 6.

6. εἰ δὲ: see on § 11. 7.

§ 156. 2. ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν: cf. Dem. xx. 78, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐχθρῶν τρόπαιον οὐδὲν ἀφ' ὑμῶν κἀκεῖνον, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν πολλὰ ἐκείνου (Chabrias) στρατηγούντος. The underlying thought is the erection of the trophy out of the spoils of the vanquished. Cf. § 116. 8, ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων. In the same connection are used κατὰ with gen. and the gen. dependent on τρόπαιον. Cf. Lys. xviii. 3, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησε τρόπαια. II. 25, ἔστησαν μὲν τρόπαια ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν βαρβάρων.

3. αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας: metaphor taken from the procedure in the courts of law. The Hellenic world is the jury. Cf. § 251. 2.

7. τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον: charge more fully explained in §§ 239, 240.



157 λικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, 16  
ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαῖς ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμ-  
φοράς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄρῶν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν  
κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ  
5 παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας  
γυναῖκας, ὅψῃ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαί-  
οντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρου-  
μένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ  
τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
10 τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ  
158 ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάσασθαι. οὔτε πόλις οὔτ' ἰδιώτης οὐδεὶς  
πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησά-  
μενος. ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ  
ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πορθμύοντας  
5 νόμον ἔθεσθ', ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον

§ 157. Another vivid picture following close upon the first (see on § 153. 2) and much more effective. The two are, however, mutually dependent, portraying in juxtaposition the shameful crowning and the dreadful deeds wrought by the man who is supposed to be crowned. This *διατόπωσις* has been justly admired and copied. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* xi. 7. Dem. xix. 65, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν ὄρῶν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα, οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιηρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γυναῖκα δὲ καὶ παῖδάκια ὀλίγα καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς, furnished some of the materials for this picture. Ancient grammarians notice also the resemblance to Hom. *Il.* ix. 593 f., ἑνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δὲ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ὄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας. Cf. Thuc. iii. 67. 3. This is one of the passages alluded to in Dem. xviii. 41, οὗτός ἐστιν ὃ τὰ θη-

βαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρὰ.

5. πρεσβύτας: attrib. appos. H. 625.

7. οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις κτλ.: extravagant hyperbole. Aeschines is indulgent towards Alexander. See on § 132 *fin.*

9. ἀλιτήριον: see on § 131. 7.

10. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην: see on § 115. 1. For Demosthenes' reply, cf. Dem. xviii. 270, 271, "the whole world is involved in disaster arising from Macedonian supremacy, so that it cannot be my fault that Athens suffers from it." On the discussion of Demosthenes' *τύχη* in general, cf. Dem. xviii. 252 ff.

158. 1. οὔτε πόλις οὔτ' ἰδιώτης: cf. § 114. 9.

3f. εἰ ἔθεσθε . . . ἑάσεται: a similar arrangement of contrasted conditional clauses for expressing incongruity is



ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμῇ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα τοῦτον ἑάσετε πάλιν ἀπενθύνειν τὰ κοινά;

- 159 Ἴνα δ' εἶπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκείνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως . . . τρι-  
5 ἡρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγγυρολόγησε.

exceedingly common in Greek. For examples, see Morris on Thuc. i. 121. 5 in. The second member is, for oratorical effect, here made interrogative, exactly as in Plato *Apol.* 37 d.

7. αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ: *practice without suitable preparation*. So prop. designation of extempore speech. Used Athen. 689 b, αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τεθάρθαι πρὸς τῷ Κρανεῖ, of a made-up story.

8. ἄρδην: favorite word with Aesch. Cf. §§ 93, 136, 143, 145. — ἀνατετροφότα: *vox propria* of overturning a ship. Cf. Dem. ix. 69. For this comparison of the state to a ship, cf. *ibid.* and Dem. xviii. 194. The argument is a *fortiori*.

7) Fourth period of Demosthenes' political career. §§ 159-167.

The events of this period, which Demosthenes hardly touches, formed no legitimate part of the accusation, for they were subsequent to Ctesiphon's bill and his indictment by Aeschines. To introduce them was, however, just as legitimate in the accusation as it was for Demosthenes in the defence (xviii. 117) to mention that he had now, in 330 B.C., passed in his ac-

counts, and made the second count in the indictment void.

§ 159. 3. ἀπό: the verb of the sent. implying removal, ἀπό and ἐκ are used when ἐν would express the proper relation. H. 788 a. Cf. §§ 253. 3, 97. 3, 4. — οὐ μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν: is it possible that the astounding statement, Dinarch. i. 12, οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπες μόνος αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκεί τάξιν, is a stupid misconstruction of this passage? The relation between the two orations is enough to suggest, if not to justify, such suspicion.

4. τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: see App. Demosthenes is fond of referring to his political station as a *post* (τάξιν). Cf. Dem. xviii. 173, μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον (undoubtedly a reply to this thrust). *Ibid.* 62, 304. — τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν: after Chaeronea, Demosthenes returned to Athens and superintended all the arrangements for the defence of the city. Cf. Dem. xviii. 248. A part of his duty was to secure provisions for the city. Cf. *ibid.*, αἰρούμενος σιτάνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. Prob. in this capacity, as grain-commissioner, he took a trireme for an official visit to the allies.

καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου  
σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἀν-  
θρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθυγρῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα  
ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώ-  
10 τοὺς χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰάτε τὸ Δημοσθέ-  
νους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεί τούτου προσετάτ-  
160 τετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. ἐπειδὴ δ'  
ἐτελεύτησ' ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρ-  
χὴν κατέστη, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο

To this errand Aeschines maliciously applies the words τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡργυρολόγησε.

6. ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας: i.e. the peace negotiated by Demades, Aeschines, and Phocion. Cf. § 227. 4, ἐπρεσβεύομεν. Dem. xviii. 282, δε (Aeschines) εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύομαι πρὸς Φίλιππον. Ibid. 285, Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην. Suidas s.v. Δημάδης: ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ δὲ αἰχμαλώτως γενόμενος ἀφελθὴ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπεστάλη. Plut. Phoc. 17. The favorable terms secured may well be said to have been unexpected. Philip, however, had sufficient motive for his course. See on § 141. 7.

8. ἡμιθυγρῆς: cf. Ar. Nucl. 504. For a similar sling at Demosthenes, cf. II. 34, τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τεθνηκὸς δεῖλιν. — εἰρηνοφύλακα: cf. Xen. Vect. v. 1, ἀρ' οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάναι. Little is known of any such functionary. See App.

10. οὐδ' εἰάτε: Aeschines ascribes to the indignation of the people what Plutarch, doubtless more correctly, ascribes to Demosthenes' timidity and distrust of his fortune. Cf. Plut. Dem. 21, τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλ'

ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἐπέγραφεν ἐξοιωνιζόμενος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὥς αὖθις ἀνεθάρρυσεν Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος. For tokens of the Athenians' confidence in Demosthenes, cf. Dem. xviii. 248.

11. Ναυσικλεί: leader of the famous expedition to Thermopylae, 352 B.C. (cf. Diod. xvi. 37); formerly a friend of Aeschines (cf. II. 18, 184), now a friend of Demosthenes. He had been frequently awarded a crown for distinguished public services. Cf. Dem. xviii. 114.

12. στεφανοῦσθαι: Aeschines does not suffer this fundamental thought to be long absent from the minds of the jury. Its recurrence is rather too frequent.

§ 160. 1. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε κτλ.: cf. Xen. An. i. 1. 3, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης. That Demosthenes was not absolutely shut out from public life is shown by Aeschines himself. Cf. § 27.

3. πάλιν αὖ: "back to his old habits he goes." Common redundant combination in Att. — τερατευόμενος: common in Aesch. of Demosthenes as indulging in braggadoccio and affecting the portentous, as in § 167. 3, ῥή-



Παυσανίου, εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων βουλήν κατέ-  
 5 στησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπε-  
 τόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐ κινήθησεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας· ἀγα-  
 πᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ  
 σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ εἰκά-  
 ζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἷματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὦνία,  
 10 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ

ματα ἢ θούματα; Cf. I. 94; II. 49, ἀνίσταται τελευταῖος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τερατευσάμενος ὥσπερ εἶωθε τῷ σχήματι καὶ τρίψας τὴν κεφαλὴν. II. 98. Used of Aeschylus, Ar. Ran. 833 f., ἀποσεμνυνεῖται πρῶτον, ἅπερ ἐκαστότε ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαισιν ἑτερατεύετο. — ἱερὰ ἰδρύσατο: in the light of Plut. Dem. 22, στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντο Παυσανίαν, this seems to refer to the establishment of an altar with a crowned statue of the slain Pausanias, as was done in the case of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

4. Παυσανίου: Philips' assassin. Cf. Diod. xvi. 93, 94. — εἰς αἰτίαν τὴν βουλήν κατέστησεν: Schol., ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλὴ, ἀναπεισθεῖσα παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἔθυσσε θεοῖς, χάριν ὁμολογοῦσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φιλίππου θανάτου. Ἔνεκα τούτου Ἀθηναίοις ἕστερον ἐπιστέλλων Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτως ἔγραψεν "Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν δήμῳ χαίρειν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ οὐδέν." Phocion censured this levity of the Athenians. Cf. Plut. Phoc. 16, Φιλίππου δ' ἀποθανόντος, εὐαγγέλια θύειν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ εἶα· καὶ γὰρ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι ἐπιχαίρειν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ παραταξαμένην πρὸς αὐτοὺς δύναμιν ἐνὶ σώματι μόνον ἐλάττω γενέσθαι.

5. Μαργίτην: hero of the mock-heroic poem of that name passing in antiquity under the name of Homer. Cf. [Plato] Alcib. II. 147 c, ἐκεῖνος (i.e. "Ὀμηροῦ") γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων τὸν Μαργίτην πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιστασθαι, κακῶς

δέ, φησί, πάντα ἐπίστασθαι. He was a caricature of Achilles. Demosthenes asserted, then, that Alexander in his aspiration to be a second Achilles would never get farther than to become a caricature of him. So little impression had Alexander's appearance at Chaeronea made! See App.

7. περιπατοῦντα: as a loyal school-boy, the pupil of Aristotle, the father of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. — τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα: i.e. undecided and superstitious. Cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 63, pecudumque reclusis pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta. Aeschines would doubtless suggest that this sneer ill became the man whose contempt of omens had brought the disasters of Chaeronea. Cf. § 131.

9. αἷματος: gen. of price. "There is no valor without blood."

10. οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα: of a piece with the taunt of Philocrates mentioned in Dem. xix. 46, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω. — οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως κτλ.: a base man lacks the proper point of view for judging a hero. Demosthenes defends himself against this charge of μαλακία in xviii. 245, οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμειος ἀξιώων ἕνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; That was a valid answer to Aeschines, and yet Demosthenes is



ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνανδρίας.  
 161 ἦδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυν-  
 θέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον,  
 πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεῖς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου  
 5 τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὐτ'  
 ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. καὶ τὸ πάντων  
 δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε  
 κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς

fairly liable to the charge of under-  
 rating his opponents, both Philip and  
 Alexander—a fault of an oversan-  
 guine disposition. Cf. Dem. II. 10;  
 IV. 2 ff.; IX. 31, οὐ μόνον οὐχ' Ἕλληνας  
 ὄντας οὐδὲ προσήκοντες οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλ-  
 λησι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐντεῦθεν ὄθεν  
 καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνους,  
 ὄθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν  
 ἦν πρότερον.

§ 161. 1. Θετταλῶν: the Thessa-  
 lians joined heartily in Alexander's  
 first expedition into Greece. Cf.  
 Diod. xvii. 4.—ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πό-  
 λιν: Athens was the centre of the  
 widely extended plans for a rising  
 against the young king. Demosthe-  
 nes was again the active ambassador.

2. νεανίσκου: Alexander was at  
 this time, 336 B.C., twenty years old.  
 —παροξυνθέντος: cf. § 118. 5, παρω-  
 ξύνθη. Diod. xvii. 4, ἡ γὰρ ὀξύτης  
 τοῦ νεανίσκου ἐξέπληττε.

3. εἰκότως: see on § 132 *fin.*—περὶ  
 Θήβας: the sudden appearance of  
 Alexander in the neighborhood of  
 Thebes caused the immediate collapse  
 of the rebellion. Athens hastened to  
 send an embassy for peace.

4. ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαι-  
 ρῶνος: prob. because Alexander re-  
 fused to receive him or give him safe

conduct. It was a strange choice for  
 the people to make. And Demos-  
 thenes would have shown more tact  
 than they, had he declared as Dinar-  
 chus (I. 82) reports, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρε-  
 σβεύειν ἔδει περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὐκ ἂν  
 ἔφασκεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθεῖν οὐδὲ  
 τὸν ἕτερον πόδα. Both Grote and  
 Thirlwall ascribe his election to the  
 malice of his enemies.

5. οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ κτλ.: for once  
 Dinarchus has the superiority in  
 piquancy. Cf. Dinarch. I. 82, ἐν μὲν  
 ταῖς παρατάξεσιν οἰκουρός, ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
 οἴκοι μένουσι πρεσβευτής, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 πρεσβυταῖς δραπετής ἐστίν.

6. τὸ δεινότατον: appos. to sent.  
 G. 137, n. 3; H. 626. See on § 240. 6.

7. τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε: after the  
 destruction of Thebes, 336 B.C., Alex-  
 ander demanded the surrender of the  
 prominent Athenian orators and gen-  
 erals, including Demosthenes, Lycur-  
 gus, Hyperides (?), as no less re-  
 sponsible for the Theban revolt than  
 the Theban agitators themselves. Cf.  
 Plut. Phoc. 17. Dem. xviii. 41, ἐγὼ  
 δὲ χαίρω, ὅς ἐσθὺς ἐξητοίμην ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ταῦτα πράξαντος. Arr. An. I. 10. 4.  
 For a full discussion of the affair, see  
 Schäfer, III. p. 127, note.—οὐδ' εἰά-  
 σατε κριθῆναι κτλ.: see Introd. § 24 *fin.*

162 νυνὶ προδίδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέγεται. ὥς γάρ φασιν οἱ Πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως πιστεύεται, ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταῖκός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώ-  
 5 λου υἱός, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γινώσκει. οὗτός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος ἐτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων ὥκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὃ τι δὲ πράττων, ἀμφίβολος ἡ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὐσχημον ἐμοὶ

Cf. Dem. xviii. 322, Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων. These Amphictyonic suits are referred by other authorities to an earlier date.

9. προδίδωκεν: pointed reference to προῖδοτε, line 7. — ἃ λέγεται: Aeschines falls back on weak hearsay evidence.

162. 2. οἱ Πάραλοι: crew of the sacred galley Paralus; all Athenian citizens; sometimes employed in diplomatic service. Cf. Arr. An. iii. 6. 2, ἐνταῦθα (to Tyre) ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουσα Διδόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα· ξυνεπρέσβευον δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. Thuc. viii. 73. 5, τοὺς Πάραλους, ἄνδρας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἑλευθέρους πάντας ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλείοντας καὶ ἀεὶ δὴ ποτε ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ μὴ παρούσῃ ἐπικειμένους. The present embassy congratulating Alexander would naturally be hostile to Demosthenes.

3. Ἀριστίων Πλαταῖκός: cf. Harpocr. s.v. Ἀριστίων: Ὑπερίδης κατὰ Δημοσθένους· οὗτος Σάμιος μὲν ἔστιν ἡ Πλαταεὺς, ὥς Διούλλος φησιν, ἐκ μεираκυλλίου δ' ἐταῖρος Δημοσθένους, ἐπέμφθη δ' ὅπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὥς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν ἐ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

5. εἰ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γινώσκει: conversational tone, marking a free and easy handling of the subject.

Cf. Xen. An. i. 4. 7, οἱ δ' ὥκτειρον, εἰ ἁλώσονται.

6. ἐτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων: cf. I. 75, μειράκιον τὴν ὄψιν ἐτέρων διαφέρον. Dem. xix. 233, τοῦτον τοίνυν οὐκ ἔκρινεν Αἰσχίνης, ὅτι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ πρὸς Φιλίππον ἔπεμψεν· εἰ δέ τις ὦν ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἐτέρου βελτίων τὴν ἰδέαν, μὴ προῖδόμενος τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ὄψεως ὑπόψιαν, ἱταμώτερον τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχρήσατο βίῃ, τοῦτον ὥς πεπορευμένον κέκρικεν. This suspicion, so readily attaching to physical beauty, is the dark side of the homage paid to it in Greece.

7. ὃ τι δὲ πράττων κτλ.: this insinuation would not be ambiguous to the hearers.

8. οὐδαμῶς εὐσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν: affectation of nicety in such matters is a characteristic of Aeschines. Cf. I. 55, ἃ γὰρ οὗτος ἔργῳ πράττων οὐκ ἠσχύνετο, ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λόγῳ σαφῶς ἐν ὑμῖν εἰπὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐδεξάμην ζῆν. Cf. also *ibid.* 37 f., 52, 70, 76. For other charges of the same nature against Demosthenes unsupported by any proof, cf. §§ 173, 174; II. 23, 88, 127. The scandal-mongers enlarged these insinuations in the direction of piquant details. Cf. Ath. 692 e. Idomeneus of Lampsacus, a pupil of Epicurus, whose work was full of malicious scandals about the orators of Greece,



λέγειν. οὗτος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἡγνοημένος τίς ποτ' ἐστὶ  
 10 καὶ πῶς βεβιωκώς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλη-  
 σιάζει ἐκείνῳ. διὰ τούτου γράμματα πέμψας ὡς Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρον ἄδειάν τινα εὖρηται καὶ καταλλαγὰς καὶ πολλήν  
 163 τὴν κολακείαν πεποίηται. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ὡς  
 ὁμοῖόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. εἰ γάρ τοι οὕτως ἐφρό-  
 νει καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν ὥσπερ καὶ φησὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξαν- 77  
 δρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν  
 5 οὐδενὶ φαίνεται κεχρημένος. εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθεστηκώς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαρα-  
 σκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκείων ὄντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη,  
 ἥκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι

is mentioned by Athenaeus (*ibid.*) as authority, and is prob. responsible for most of the details.

10. ὑποτρέχει: worms himself into the confidence of. Cf. ὑπέρχεται, ὑπο-  
 δέσθαι, ὑποπίπτειν. — πλησιάζει: con-  
 sort with. Cf. Soph. O. T. 1136, ἐπλησία-  
 ζον τῷδε τάνδρῃ τρεῖς ὄλους ἐκμήνους χρό-  
 νους. Isocr. xv. 186, εἰ διέλθοιμι τὰς  
 ὑποσχέσεις ὡς ποιούμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πλη-  
 σιάζειν ἡμῖν βουλομένους (as pupils).

§ 163. 1. ἐκεῖθεν: from the follow-  
 ing. Cf. § 195. 1. Dem. xviii. 150,  
 γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. Similarly ἐκείνας,  
 § 168. 4, and ἐκεῖνο repeatedly in  
 Dem., e.g. xxiii. 144, ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖν'  
 ὑπισχνούμαι.

2. ὁμοῖόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ:  
 the facts tally with the charge. Cf. Dem.  
 xviii. 14, ὅπνῃκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πε-  
 ποικώς, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατηγορία  
 τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. — εἰ γάρ τοι κτλ.:  
 apod. implied in ὧν οὐδενὶ κεχρημένος.  
 GMT. 53, n. 2.

4. καιροὶ κάλλιστοι: Aeschines is  
 playing with edged tools. One might  
 ask why he did not speak, if he loved  
 Athens. — παραγεγόνασιν: have come

to him (i.e. without any effort on his  
 part).

5. εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος: cf. § 54. 5.  
 "First the one which immediately  
 thrust itself upon him." Το εἰς μὲν  
 corresponds ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ — οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα,  
 § 164. δεύτερον δέ would be expected  
 as in § 55. 1. Dem. xxiii. 18; lvi. 21.  
 — εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κτλ.: cf. § 160. 2.

7. τῶν οἰκείων: i.e. Macedonian  
 affairs, including also relations with  
 the Greeks. Opp. to τὰ ἀλλότρια. That  
 Alexander ran a great risk at this  
 time no one doubts. To call it the  
 daring of genius does not hide the  
 fact. But the capacity of Philip and  
 Alexander for appearing suddenly on  
 the scene even from remote distances,  
 and the terrible example recently  
 made of Thebes, kept the disaffected  
 Greeks quiet until the crisis was  
 passed.

8. ἥκμαζε: "Since the reconquest  
 of Egypt and Phoenicia, about eight  
 or nine years before, by the Persian  
 king Ochus, the power of that empire  
 had been restored to a point equal to  
 any anterior epoch since the repulse



- καὶ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 10 προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ κινδύνους.  
 εἰπᾶς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενες, ἢ ἔγραψάς τι  
 ψήφισμα; βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ  
 σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ; καίτοι ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς  
 164 οὐκ ἀναμένει. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει Δαρείος  
 κατεβεβήκει, ὃ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημμένος ἐν Κιλι-  
 κίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής, ὡς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἔμελ-  
 λεν, ὡς ἦν ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ  
 5 τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ  
 ἐχώρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τινας ἐξηρτημένους ἐκ τῶν δακτύ-  
 λων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς

of Xerxes from Greece." Grote, XI. c. 92, p. 400.

12. βούλει σε θῶ: question of doubt. GMT. 88; G. 256; H. 866, 3 b.

13. ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει: see on § 72. 4. Cf. Dem. iv. 37, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτήτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. The present passage has the more exact antithesis which, in this case, is not without effect. In the imitation of the passage from Dem. in Liv. xxxi. 48, non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum, the imported antithesis is somewhat frosty.

§ 164. 2. κατεβεβήκει: i.e. from the interior down to the Cilician coast. Aeschines is describing the preliminaries to the battle of Issus for which Darius had assembled his whole land army (πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει, in distinction from the small force at the Granicus). He had let slip the golden opportunity of checking Alexander at the mountain passes into Cilicia (ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἰ τις ἐκώλυεν, Xen. An. i. 2. 21). Cf.

Arr. An. ii. 4. 3 f. Yet by now throwing himself in his rear (cf. Arr. An. ii. 7. 1, καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθῶν), he put him in a position of great peril.

4. παρὰ σοῦ: see on § 40. 1. — συμπατηθήσεσθαι: cf. Arr. An. ii. 6. 5, καταπατήσῃν τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατιὰν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ (Darius) ἐπαίροντες ἐπέλεγον (the courtiers).

5. ἀηδίαν: cf. § 72. 2. — ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἐχώρει: the city was not big enough for. Cf. Dem. xxi. 200, ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ. ix. 27, οὐθ' ἢ Ἑλλάς οὐθ' ἢ βάρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τὰνθρώπων.

6. τὰς ἐπιστολάς τινας κτλ.: making a great show of his foreign correspondence. Cf. Dinarch. i. 35, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ γράφων ἐπιστολήν, ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων ἀναψάμενος περιεπορεύετο, a clumsy reproduction of this passage with the addition of irrelevant details like 'the Sedan chair' and 'flaunting wealth in the face of honest poverty.'

7. ὡς: giving to the following causal partic. a subjective force. GMT. 109, 8, n. 4; H. 978. "My terror was all in the fancy of Demosthenes."

ἐκπεπληγμένον καὶ ἀθυμούντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκα-  
λῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἴ τι πταῖσμα συμβήσεται  
10 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς τινα  
165 καιρὸν ἀνεβάλου καλλίῳ. ὑπερβὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα  
ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ  
Κόρραγον στρατιώτας, Ἡλείοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο  
5 καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληνέων καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶσα  
πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ καθ'

8. χρυσόκερων: figure taken from the custom of gilding the horns of the sacrificial victims. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 436 ff., γέρων δ' ἱππλάτα Νέστωρ χρυσὸν ἔδωχ'· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα βοὸς κέρασιν περιχυνεν ἀσκήσας, ἴν' ἄγαλμα θεᾷ κεχάροίτο ἰδοῦσα.

9. κατεστέφθαι: Aeschines is still compared with the victim, which was usually decked with garlands. Just before Philip's death the Pythia imparted to him the following oracle, ἔσται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. Cf. Diod. xvi. 91. Paus. viii. 7. 8.

§§ 165 ff. Demosthenes' third opportunity. Cf. §§ 163, 5, 164 in.

§ 165. 2. ὑπέρ: = περί.—τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων: the suppression of the Spartan rebellion was accomplished in July, one month before the present trial.

3. τὸ ξενικόν: from the battle of Issus, 333 B.C., 8000 Greek mercenaries escaped to Greece and took service with Agis, king of Sparta. Cf. Diod. xvii. 48. Curt. iv. 1. 39.

4. Κόρραγον: Macedonian general, hardly the same person as the Κόραγος mentioned in Diod. xvii. 100, as with Alexander in the Indian campaign. — Ἡλείοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο

κτλ.: the Eleans and Arcadians had been hitherto enemies of Sparta, and staunch friends of Philip and Alexander. Cf. Diod. xvii. 62, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, Πελοποννησίῳ δ' οἱ πλείους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς συμφρονήσαντες ἀπεγράψαντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ κατέλεξαν στρατιώτας πέζους μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισφυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους. Had Athens joined this new alliance instead of dashing her forces almost alone against this same Antipater seven years later in the disastrous Lamian War, the result might have been different. But the old Macedonian policy 'divide et impera,' was even here effective. Cf. Diod. l.c., Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν, παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὅπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον. Agis was defeated at Megalopolis, and, by his heroic death, testified that the ancient spirit of Sparta still lived in her kings. *Ibid.* 63, ἀγωνισάμενος γὰρ λαμπρῶς, καὶ πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἐναντίοις περιπεσών.

6. πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως: a notable exception. This city, planted by Epaminondas as a 'thorn in the flesh' to Sparta, thrown upon the protection of Philip by the unwise rejection of her by the Athenians in

ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὃ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης  
 μεθεισθήκει, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρόνον συνήγε στρα-  
 10 τόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἄδηλον ἦν. ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπό-  
 δειξιν ποιῆσαι τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔπραξας ἢ τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ  
 ἔλεγες· καὶ εἰ βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἔως  
 166 ἂν εἴπῃς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην  
 ἔχω σοι, ἃ δὲ τότε ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. οὐ μέμνησθε  
 αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς,  
 ὦ σιδηροὶ, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν  
 5 "ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ

spite of the protest of Demosthenes (cf. Dem. xvi.), remained true to her calling and her brief history.

7. ἐπίδοξος: with aor. inf., as here, Isocr. vi. 8, ἐπίδοξος ὦν τυχεῖν. The fut. inf. is more usual.

8. ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου: hyperbole. Alexander was in Bactria, in pursuit of Bessus. Cf. Arr. An. iii. 28 ff. — ὀλίγου δεῖν: almost, inf. abs. GMT. 100, n. 1; H. 956.

9. πολὺν χρόνον: Antipater was suppressing the rebellion of Memnon in Thrace. Cf. Diod. xvii. 62. Prob. the delay was not very great. Cf. *ibid.* 63, τὸν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ πόλεμον, ὥς ποτ' ἦν δυνατὸν, διέλυσεν.

11. τί ποτ' . . . ἔλεγες: "your actions and your talk amounted to nothing. The sickening metaphors you used were worse than no talk."

12. παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος: cf. Dem. xviii. 139, εἰ δὲ φησι, νῦν δεῖξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμφ' ὕδατι. xix. 32, 57; L. 2. Doubtful is ii. 59. That the orators expected these seemingly liberal offers to be accepted is not likely. It is only a rhetorical figure by which they intend to say "Even my antagonist could

not state this more favorably to himself than I am now doing." Dem. ii. 8 contains a general challenge to anybody in the assembly to come forward and interrupt. Very different from this are cases in court in which provision was made for questions being put to the antagonist. Cf. Lys. xii. 24 f., where the answers of the defendant are incorporated into the oration. Plato's apology of Socrates has too many elements of fiction to be taken as evidence of court procedure.

§ 166. 3. μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα: rather strong epithets for the following metaphors. See on § 72. 2. — ῥήματα: see on § 72. 1.

4. ὦ σιδηροὶ: mock solemnity. "Your powers of endurance must have been Herculean." Cf. Simon. 8 (Bergk), σιδάρεον Ἀλκμήνας τέκος. So also Lat. ferreus. Cf. Juv. i. 29, nam quis iniquae tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se (where it forms a climax with patiens); vii. 150, O ferrea pectora. — ἐκαρτερεῖτε: see on § 118. 4.

5. ἀμπελουργοῦσι: are stripping, with



κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέμνεται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες πρῶτον ὥσ-  
167 περ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι." ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίνα-  
δος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδιῶν

reference to the seemingly savage work of the vine dresser.—ἀνατεμῆ-  
κασι: forming with ἀπελουροῦσι a  
climax, *aye, they have lopped off*.—  
τινές: in Aeschines' own manner.  
See on τινές, § 1. 3.

6. κλήματα: *vine shoots*.—ὑποτέ-  
μνεται τὰ νεῦρα: sufficiently bold  
metaphor. See on § 67. 8. Dem.  
III. 31 explains τὰ νεῦρα as 'sinews  
of war,' ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκνευρισμένοι καὶ  
περιρρημένοι χρήματα, συμμάχους, ἐν  
ὑπέρπτῳ καὶ προσθήκῃ μέρει γεγέ-  
νησθε. Against the charge, διαρπάζειν  
τινές τὰ χρήματα βούλονται, Demos-  
thenes himself has to defend him-  
self, VIII. 52 f.

7. φορμορραφούμεθα: *sewed together  
like a rush mat, i.e. hampered*. Cf. the  
metaphor of Demosthenes in II. 21,  
τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖν ἔφη, ὥστε ἀπορράψειν τὸ  
Φιλίππου στόμα δλοσχοίνῃ ἀβρόχῳ.—  
ἐπὶ τὰ στενά . . . διείρουσι: obscure  
passage, perhaps best translated, *certain  
persons are drawing us first like  
needles into tight places, parallel to Eng.  
'draw through a knot-hole.'* See App.

§ 167. 1. ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν: slightly  
different from the same phrase used  
so often in Dem. (e.g. IX. 39) as a  
rhetorical question.—κίναδος: Blass  
(*Att. Bered.* III. 2, p. 108) says,  
"In reviling Aeschines lacks the  
originality of his opponent. He  
only gets so far as designations  
like κίναδος, ἀνδρόγυνος, κίναδος, θη-  
ρίον." κίναδος, which is no more  
peculiar to Aesch. than συκοφάντης  
and δωροδόκος, is perhaps the bit-  
terest word which the orators bandy.

Cf. Dem. XVIII. 242, πονηρόν, ὦ ἄν-  
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν δ' συκοφάντης  
δεῖ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φι-  
λαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος  
τῶνθρώπων ἐστίν. *Ibid.* 162. Andoc.  
I. 99, ἐπίτριπτον κίναδος, from Soph.  
*Aj.* 103.

2. ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα: translated in  
Cic. *Or.* 26, *verba an portenta*.  
The metaphors are after all not much  
bolder than those used by Aeschines  
himself, §§ 156, 207, 253. That they  
are quotes. from Demosthenes appears  
from the lack of a disclaimer in Dem.  
XVIII. 126, λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτῆς  
εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ᾤκησε τῶν μετ-  
ρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγγεσθαι; *Ibid.* 232,  
πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ ταῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε  
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ ταυτὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀλλὰ  
μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθη ἐγώ. This mutual  
criticism of style in a life and death  
struggle between orators would not  
make a favorable impression on a  
modern jury. See Jebb, *Attic Orators*,  
Introd., p. lxxiii.—κύκλῳ περιδιῶν  
. . . ὥς ἀντιπράττων: Demosthenes  
was 'suited the action to the word.'  
For a reply, cf. Dem. l.c., καὶ σχήμα-  
τα μιμούμενος, and ἡ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα  
ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα. That Dem-  
osthenes was, in distinction from the  
older orators and most of his con-  
temporaries, first, last, and always an  
actor on the platform (as Beecher in  
the pulpit) is abundantly testified.  
Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 142, Demosthenem  
ferunt ei, qui quaesivisset,  
quid primum esset in dicen-  
do, actionem; quid secundum,  
idem et idem tertium respon-

σαντὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάν-  
δρῳ "ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θεττα-  
5 λούς καὶ Περραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι." σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην  
ἀποστήσεις, σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν,  
ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν  
που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθιζήσῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀν-  
δρὸς οὐ πράξεις· ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ, προσποιή-  
10 σαι καὶ σαντὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψεις· ἂν δ'

disse. Longin. *Rhet.* (Spengel, *Rhet. Graec.* I. p. 310), εἰκότως ὁ Δημοσθένης αὐτὴν (sc. ὑπόκρισιν) ἐντιμον ἦγε, καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἴρηκεν ἐγκάμια, τρὶς μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς, τριπλᾶ δὲ αὐτῇ δοὺς τὰ νικητήρια καὶ ποιήσας πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην. Aeschines, on the contrary, aimed at the stately reposeful bearing of Solon and Pericles. Cf. I. 25 f., ἐκείνοι μὲν γε ἡσυχόντο ἔξω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντες λέγειν. Of Hyperides, cf. *Dec. Oratt.* Vit. 850 a, λέγεται δ' ἄνευ ὑποκρίσεως δημηγορῆσαι. To this twitting of Demosthenes on his over-animated delivery the latter's twitting of Aeschines on his fine voice is the counter-thrust. See *Intro.* § 9.

4. *συστήσαι*: arranged. If Demosthenes arranged the revolt of Agis, it was strange policy not to throw Athens' weight into the scale. See on § 165. 4. Cf. *Plut. Dem.* 24, κινουμένην δὲ Ἀγιδί τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ Βραχέα συνεκινήθη (sc. Demosthenes) πάλιν, εἴτ' ἐπτήξε, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ συνελασάντων, τοῦ δ' Ἀγίδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων.

5. *ἀφιστάναι*: am stirring up to revolt; different from aor. inf. συστήσαι of an accomplished fact. The Thessalians remained true to the

Macedonian cause until the Lamian War. — γὰρ: what! H. 1050, 4 b.

6. *μὴ ὅτι . . . ἀλλά*: non dicam . . . sed. H. 1035 a.

7 ff. *εἰ μὲν που κτλ.*: a good counter-thrust; corresponding in form and immensely superior in effect, is *Dem.* xviii. 198. The best answer to the taunt of cowardice is *Dem.* xviii. 262, where, after describing the relentless warfare waged upon Aeschines, the actor, by the spectators, the speaker adds with keenest sarcasm, ἴφ' ὃν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφώς εἰκότως τοῖς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιοῦτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκάπτεις.

8. *προσκαθιζήσῃ*: be on the watch. Cf. *Plato Apol.* 31 a, τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην πανταχοῦ προσκαθίζων. L. and S. erroneously give for the present passage the meaning, *sit idle*. The persistent presence of Demosthenes where money is being paid out is the point. Cf. § 149. 4. — *πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρός*: cf. § 155. 6, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ.

9. *ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ*: i.e. as in the case of τὰ Λακωνικά, above, with a more remote reference to the cases mentioned in § 256.

10. *σαντὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψεις*: you will inscribe your name on the accomplished fact.



ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσει· ἂν δὲ θαρρήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῦς στεφάνους.

- 168 Ναὶ ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν εἰς τὴν εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἂν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον. ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιούμαι, ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω, ποῖόν τινα εἰκός ἐστίν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτόν, μὴ ὀποτέρου τοῦ λόγου

11. ἂν δὲ θαρρήσωμεν: no argument can be drawn from this form of cond. that the prospects of the Spartan revolt were still hopeful at the time of the trial. The cond. is general, like all the others in the same paragraph. In fut. conds. there are no separate forms for general and particular suppositions. GMT. 48, R. 1. Though the case was reopened by the friends of Demosthenes while the rebellion was hopeful, the suit did not come on until after its suppression. See on § 165. 2. *Introd.* § 24.

12. στεφάνους: see on § 159. 11. This portion of the oration, closing with the usual epiphonema, is the end of the direct proof, *confirmatio*. The rest is *confutatio*. The last two sections (§§ 166, 167) are a bid for applause to crown the main effort of the prosecution.

DIGRESSION I. *Demosthenes lacks all the requisites of a true friend of the people.* §§ 168–176. For the reply, cf. Dem. XVIII. 122 ff.

§ 168. 1. Ναὶ ἀλλὰ: see on § 22. 1. The form of ὑπόληψις serves to introduce characteristics of Demos-

thenes entirely foreign to the indictment, but of the utmost importance for the speaker, whose main task is to show the thorough unworthiness of Demosthenes.

2. εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων: *fair talk*. Cf. § 92. 6. In good sense, 1. 169, φίλιππον δὲ νῦν μὲν διὰ τὴν λόγων εὐφημίαν ἐπαινῶ. — ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον: cf. Dem. XVIII. 142 (similar warning against deceit by Aeschines), ὑπερ πρότερον συνέβη.

3. ἀλήθειαν: in sharp contrast to Demosthenes' εὐφημία.

4. ἐκείνως: see on § 163. 1. — ἀπολάβετε... λόγον: *take an account from him*, as the λογισταὶ are wont to do. Cf. § 27. 11.

6. σώφρονι: as the oligarch is ὑβριστικός by nature, so the true democrat is of course modest and temperate. These two characteristics are assumed rather than asserted by the epithets σώφρονι and φαῦλον. The latter, a general depreciatory epithet, would perhaps be more naturally used by aristocrats of their opponents. It must here be interpreted as the opposite of σώφρονι.

9 f. Same thought as lines 1–4,



169 ἄλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὁμολογήσαι τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νό-  
 5 μοις οἱ σῶζουσιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν 78  
 προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρ-  
 χειν, ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ  
 βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ  
 170 ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. τρίτον σῶφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρή πε-  
 φυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ  
 διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῇ κατὰ τοῦ δή-  
 μου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἶπεῖν· καλὸν γάρ

with slight verbal alterations. The repeated antithesis is intended to hammer the thought in.—τοῦ λόγου: pred. gen. of characteristic. H. 732 d. In such combinations the art. is regularly used. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 11, 24.

§ 169. 2. ὑπάρξαι: Dem. xviii. 122 substitutes προσεῖναι.—πρῶτον μὲν: Aeschines is fond of series. Cf. §§ 54 ff., 91, 142 ff.

3. καὶ πρὸς μητρός: the point of especial significance in this case. One scale of the balance is now being weighted. Into the other the 'light weight' Demosthenes is soon to be placed. Aeschines himself lays stress on this side of his own pedigree in ii. 148, ἐλευθέρους δέ μοι συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ τοὺς πρὸς μητρός ἅπαντας.

4. τοῖς νόμοις: particularly the laws restricting the citizenship, but designedly made general. The breaker of one law is a law-breaker.

5. σῶζουσιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν: cf. § 6 *fin.*—ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν: for the same application of

noblesse oblige, cf. Andoc. ii. 26, ὥστ' ἔμοιγε καὶ διὰ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα εἰκότως ὑπάρχει δημοτικῷ εἶναι, εἴπερ τι ἄλλὰ νῦν γε φρονῶν τυγχάνω. For the application of the opposite case to the younger Alcibiades, cf. Lys. xiv. 39 f., ὥστε νῦν χρή ἡγησαμένους πατρικὸν ἔχθρὸν τοῦτον εἶναι τῇ πόλει καταψηφίσασθαι.

7. τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον: see on § 161. 6.

§ 170. 1. σῶφρονα: already 'begged' in the epithet σῶφρονι, § 168. 6.—μέτριον: see on μέτρια, § 1. 3.

3. δωροδοκῇ: important item. See on § 9. 5 f.

4. εὐγνώμονα: like εὐγνωμοσύνην, line 7, § 174. 1, more moral than intellectual, like the Homeric εὐφρονέων. See on § 153 *fin.* Cf. Andoc. ii. 6, εἴητε ἂν ἄνδρες εὐγνωμονέστεροι. It is violently joined with δυνατὸν εἶπεῖν as forming a single quality. The necessity of discriminating between them is immediately recognized in the following, where προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλ-  
 7 τιστα continues εὐγνώμονα, and περ-

5 τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παι-  
δείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκού-  
οντας. εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ προτακτέον  
τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ  
παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἐγκαταλίπη τὸν δῆμον. τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχι-  
10 κὸν πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν  
διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει.  
ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

171 Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ  
ἐλευθέρος· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς

θεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας continues δυνατόν  
εἶπαι.

5. διάνοιαν: like παιδείαν and λό-  
γον, acc. of respect in a very unusual  
relation.

7. εἰ δὲ μή: but if we cannot have  
both. GMT. 52, I, s. 2; H. 906.

8. ἵνα μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη τὸν δῆμον: a  
comparison with the Good Shepherd  
is not too remote.

10. πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων  
ἔχειν: must the oligarch then be a  
coward? In his haste to make a  
total contrast the speaker forgets  
what lies nearest.

12. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις: in accord-  
ance with the strictest demands of jus-  
tice. For the same phrase, cf. I. 178.  
Dem. VIII. 9; XI. 88.

§ 171. 2. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι:  
show of candor to inspire trust. The  
elder Demosthenes was doubtless a  
wealthy citizen of whom it could be  
said, qui bene latuit bene  
vixit. If there had been anything  
wrong about him, Aeschines would  
not have omitted to mention it, to say  
nothing of Dinarchus and Hyper-  
ides. It suits Lucian (*Som.* 12, τίνας  
νόθον νοτα) to talk ambiguously of  
the orator's lowly origin; but τίνας

may refer to the mother. Cf., how-  
ever, Juv. x. 130, pater ardentis  
massae fuligine lippus.—τὰ  
ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 4, ἃ  
δ' Αἰσχίνης εἰρήκε περὶ τῆς μητρὸς, ὡς  
ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ προδοσίας  
φυγόντος ἐξ ἄστεως γεγόνοι καὶ βαρ-  
βάρου γυναικὸς, οὐκ ἔχουμεν εἰπεῖν εἰ-  
τ' ἀληθῶς εἰρήκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ  
καταψευδόμενος. Beyond this the  
best modern authorities cannot go.  
Both Grote (XI. c. 87, p. 68, note)  
and Schäfer (I. p. 241), however,  
conclude that Gylon's wife was in all  
probability a Greek. It was much  
easier for Demosthenes, as well as  
more palatable to an Athenian jury,  
to match this thrust by an ugly  
retort (cf. XVIII. 129 ff.), than to re-  
fute it elaborately. It was a vicious  
custom at Athens to insinuate ille-  
gitimacy of opponents. Cf. *Dem.*  
XIII. 68, βοῶν (sc. Androton) ἐν ταῖς  
ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος δούλους  
καὶ ἐκ δούλων καλῶν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους  
καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, ἐρωτῶν εἰ μάτην τὸ  
θεσμωτήριον ψευδομένη. *Lys.* XIII. 18;  
XXX. 2, 27. It is not unlikely that  
many passed as Athenian citizens  
whose claims would not bear a strict  
scrutiny.



καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ; Γύλων  
 ἦν ἐκ Κεραμείων· οὗτος προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμ-  
 5 φαιον τὸ ἐν Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον  
 τοῦτο, φνγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο,  
 τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον,  
 κακεῖ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὄνο-  
 172 μασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νῦν  
 Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γέ-  
 νος, ἐξ ἧς γίνονται θυγατέρες δύο, αἱ ἐκείνου δεῦρο

3. Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμείων: as if beginning an important story. Cf. Xen. An. i. 1. 9, Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φνγὰς ἦν. Ceramicus was one of the city-demes.

4. προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον: Nymphaeum was a harbor just a few miles south of Panticapaeum (modern Kertsch), the principal city of the Tauric Chersonese, which was thickly dotted with Greek cities. Cf. Strabo vii. 4, xi. 2. See App. The charge of betraying it to the enemy prob. arose out of the fact that in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens in her weakness could not hold her distant possessions, Gylon was her agent in turning over to a friendly power what was already slipping from her grasp. It seems that even Demosthenes' guardians alleged no more than that Gylon was fined. Cf. Dem. xxviii. 1, εἶπε (sc. Aphobus) γὰρ ὡς ὁ πάππος ὤφειλε τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πατήρ οὐκ ἐβούλετο μισθωθῆναι τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα μὴ κινδυνεύσῃ. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ποιεῖται ταύτην, ὡς δ' ὀφείλων ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖνος, οὐδεμίαν παράσχετο μαρτυρίαν. Demosthenes then immediately proceeds to prove that this fine was paid before Gylon's death. Cf. *ibid.* 2, ἐξετίσθη τὰ χρήματα καὶ πάντ' αὐτῷ διε-

λέλυτο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. Presumably, then, Gylon spent the latter part of his life in Athens.

5. τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο: i.e. Nymphaeum.

6. ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας: see on § 3. 9, and App.

7. εἰς Βόσπορον: i.e. to Panticapaeum.

9. Κήπους: colony of Miletus near Phanagoria, the principal city on the Asiatic side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Cf. Strabo, xi. 2. 10. Nothing further is known as to this charge. In a temporary enforced retirement from Athens, Gylon would naturally find a friendly reception with the prince with whom he had had pleasant business relations.

§ 172. 2. ἐπιφερομένην: vox propria of the property which the bride brings with her. Cf. Lys. xix. 14, τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα ἔλαβεν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένην. The corresponding word for the head of the family who furnishes the dowry is ἐπιδοῦναι. This dowry laid the foundations of that fortune over which Demosthenes struggled with his guardians. — Σκύθιν: see on § 171. 2. Cf. ii. 78, ἐκ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς γένος ὢν. Dinarch. i. 15 is nothing but an echo of this.



μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν  
 5 ἑτέραν ὁπωδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι· τὴν δ'  
 ἑτέραν ἔγημε παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθέ-  
 νης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῶν οὐτοσί ὁ περιέργος καὶ  
 συκοφάντης γεγένηται. οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου πολέ-  
 10 δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ·  
 173 ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι. περὶ δὲ τὴν  
 καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογρά-

5. ὁπωδήποτε: Demochares. Cf. Dem. xxviii. 4, Δημοχάρης, ἔχων ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς, θυγατέρα δὲ Γύλωνος.

6. παριδὼν τοὺς νόμους: disregard-  
 ing, etc. Cf. § 250. 2. Marrying a  
 foreign wife and taking the conse-  
 quences of illegitimate children would  
 not make a law-breaker. But as De-  
 mosthenes was born in 384 B.C., it is  
 not improbable that his mother was  
 born before 403, the date of the en-  
 actment of the law in question. See  
 Schömann, I. p. 358. She was, in that  
 case, Gylon's legitimate daughter.  
 Had there been any question of the  
 orator's legitimacy, it would undoubt-  
 edly have been raised in the litigation  
 with his guardians. 'Aeschines here  
 and elsewhere carries the effect of a  
 law of his own time farther back than  
 the time of its enactment.' Wool-  
 sey.

7. περιέργος: busybody. Cf. Dem.  
 xviii. 72, περιεργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ  
 τούτων εἰπών, περιεργασται δ' ἡ πόλις  
 ἢ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί. Quint. viii. 3. 55,  
 est autem, quae περιεργία voca-  
 tur, supervacua ut sic dixe-  
 rim operositas, ut a diligenti  
 curiosus et a religione super-  
 stitio distat.

8. πολέμιος τῷ δήμῳ: on the prin-  
 ciple of § 169. 7.

9. θάνατον: see on § 171. 4.

11. τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριος:  
 "barbarian vices" makes a capital  
 turn to the story for an appeal to the  
 jury, but it overlaps the following  
 member of the series. The first two  
 members have likewise not been kept  
 distinct. For a similar charge, cf. ii.  
 159, εἰ γὰρ ποῦ τις ἔστι κακία, ἐν μὴ  
 πρωτεύοντα περὶ ταύτην ἀποδείξω Δη-  
 μοσθένην, θανάτου τιμῶμαι.

§ 173. 1. περὶ δίαιταν: cf. § 174  
 in.; for the more usual acc. of re-  
 spect. Cf. § 172 fin.

2. ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος: "be-  
 ing a spendthrift, he lost his property  
 and had to go to writing speeches for  
 a living," a very malicious turn to  
 give to the loss of his property  
 through the fraud of his guardians.  
 There is gleeful triumph in the word  
 τριηράρχου. In the midst of the en-  
 tanglements of the suit with his guar-  
 dians a trierarchy was forced upon  
 him by their machinations. Midias,  
 at whose drubbing of Demosthenes  
 the same glee is expressed in § 52. 8,  
 was one of the instruments of the  
 guardians in this matter. Cf. Dem.  
 xxi. 78-80. Still Demosthenes was

φος ἀνεφάνη, καταγελάστως τὰ πατρῶα προέμενος· ἄπι-  
 στος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους  
 5 ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκους, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· πλεῖ-  
 στον δ' ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας εἰληφῶς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα  
 περιεποιήσατο. νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπι-  
 κέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν·

wealthy enough to be a volunteer trierarch again in the Euboean war, 357 B.C. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 99, τῶν ἐθε-  
 λοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενο-  
 μένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἰς ἦν ἐγώ. At this  
 very time he was engaged in his career  
 of λογογράφος, so that the antithesis of  
 the present passage is merely rhetorical.  
 That the work of a λογογράφος was not  
 disgraceful is attested by the fact that  
 Antiphon, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus,  
 Hyperides, and Dinarchus all engaged  
 in it. The practice of the Athenian  
 courts, requiring contestants to speak  
 in person, made this honorable occupa-  
 tion also very lucrative.

3. καταγελάστως: disreputably. Cf.  
 I. 31, 43, 76. — τὰ πατρῶα προέμενος:  
 cf. I. 170, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν  
 ἀνάλωσε.

4. καὶ περὶ ταῦτα: in this also, as if  
 he had already been a bad trierarch.

5. ἐκφέρων: divulging, explanatory  
 of the preceding. On the charge,  
 cf. II. 165, τὸν δὲ ἐκ φύσεως  
 προδότην πῶς χρὴ θεωρεῖν; οὐχ ὡς σὺ  
 τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πιστεύουσαι κέ-  
 χρῃσαι, λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα  
 μισθοῦ τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκους;  
 ἔγραψας λόγον Φορμίῳ· τῷ τραπεζίτῃ  
 χρήματα λαβών· τούτων ἐξήνεγκας  
 Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρί-  
 νοντι Φορμίῳ. This was a charge  
 to which one composing speeches on  
 opposite sides in the same affair  
 would be liable. Schäfer (III, Bei-  
 lage v, p. 178) concedes that Aeschi-

nes may have had some reason for  
 making the charge. Demosthenes  
 prob. made no secret to Apollodorus  
 of all that he was going to urge  
 against him, and, to bring the family  
 troubles to a peaceable solution, ac-  
 companied this communication with  
 advice to compromise the suit. All  
 this might be done with no disad-  
 vantage to Phormio. For a similar  
 perversion of a fact, see on § 103 in.  
 — ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα: with refer-  
 ence to Demosthenes' impetuous  
 manner. Cf. § 149. 5. But cf. § 97. 2,  
 σεμνῶς πάννυ παρελθών. The insinua-  
 tion that politics was the last resort  
 of one who had exhausted every other  
 chance is one which Demosthenes re-  
 torts. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 263, ἐπειδὴ  
 ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι.  
 Ibid. 130 (slightly different), χθὲς καὶ  
 πρῆν ἡμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε.  
 Demosthenes' first κατηγορία was the  
 Oration on the Symmories, 354 B.C.

6. ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας εἰληφῶς ἀργύ-  
 ριον: put as a matter of course, the  
 main stress falling on the fact that  
 he has been such a spendthrift as to  
 save nothing of all this.

7. βασιλικὸν χρυσίον: cf. §§ 156  
 fin., 209 fin., 239 f. Diod. xvii. 4, πολλὰ  
 γὰρ χρήματά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι παρὰ  
 Περσῶν, ἵνα πολιτευθῇ κατὰ Μακεδό-  
 νων· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνην φασί,  
 δνειδίζοντα τῷ Δημοσθένει κατὰ τινα  
 λόγον τὴν δωροδοκίαν, εἰπεῖν· νῦν μέν-  
 τοι τὴν δαπάνην ἐπικέκλυκεν αὐτοῦ τῇ



οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου περιεγένετο· καὶ τὸ  
 10 κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων προσόδων πορίζε-  
 174ται ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων. περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύ-  
 νην καὶ λόγου δύναμιν πῶς πέφυκε; δεινὸς λέγειν, κακὸς  
 βιώναι. οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ  
 παιδοποιῶ ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἂ τούτῳ πέ-  
 15 πρακται· ἤδη γὰρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν  
 πλησίον αἰσχυρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. ἔπειτα τί συμ-  
 βαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοὶ, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα.  
 175 πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχὺς μοι λείπεται λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ

Βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κτλ. — ἐπικέκλυκε:  
 cf. Plut. Dem. 14, κατακεκλυσμένος (in  
 the same connection). The immense  
 wealth of Persia is like an overflow  
 of the Nile.

9. οὐδεὶς πλοῦτος τρόπου περι-  
 γένετο: cf. §§ 78 *fin.*, 218. 5. The  
 spendthrift's difficulty is radical, a  
 fault of character.

§ 174. 1. εὐγνωμοσύνην: cf. § 170.  
 4. We now see how artificial and at  
 same time how poorly observed is the  
 classification of qualities made in  
 §§ 169, 170. As the speaker must  
 concede that Demosthenes is δεινὸς  
 λέγειν, all that is left for discussion  
 under the fourth qualification is εὐ-  
 γνωμοσύνη, a matter of character, in-  
 separable from the third qualification.  
 § 174 contains no substantial advance  
 upon the thought of § 173.

3. οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται κτλ.: for an  
 echo of this and II. 149, cf. Ath. 592 c,  
 ἀεὶ λαοὶ δ' αἱ δὲ βέβαια ποτὶ τὰ ἀρροῦ-  
 σαι, ὅτε φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς κτλ. But these  
 and the many other voices that har-  
 monize with them are not authori-  
 ties. See on § 162. 8. If hearsay  
 evidence is in order, the other taunts,  
 'water drinker,' and 'worker by  
 lamplight,' harmonize much better

with the severe features of the por-  
 trait statues of Demosthenes. See  
 Schäfer, I. pp. 305 ff. and on § 255. 9.  
 Still it appears that no charges of  
 licentiousness were ever made against  
 Lycurgus.

4. ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν:  
 calculated to convey the impression  
 that there was something worse in this  
 case than ordinary debauchery. Cf.  
 I. 131, ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ κιναιδίας ἐνεγκά-  
 μενος τοῦνομα (i.e. Βάταλος). II. 99.  
 For a similar charge, coupled with  
 the same insinuation of something  
 too bad to tell, see on § 162. 8. Such  
 innuendoes are more effective than as-  
 sertions.

5. ἤδη ποτέ: many times already.  
 Cf. Eur. Hipp. 376, ἤδη ποτ' ἄλλως  
 συνεὶς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ: parodied Ar.  
 Ran. 931. There is hardly a special  
 reference here to his own experience  
 in the suit against Timarchus. It is  
 rather a general reflection, although  
 the gnomic element is not very promi-  
 nent in Aeschines.

6. ἔπειτα: inferential from δεινὸς λέ-  
 γειν, κακὸς βιώναι. The only advance  
 from that sharp antithesis is gained  
 by putting the emphasis on τῇ πόλει.

§ 175. 1. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤρκετο κτλ.:



ἡρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ συνῆδείτε, διατριβὴν  
 ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρέιχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ  
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε, λοιπὸν ὑπομῆσαι  
 5 τοὺς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. ὁ γὰρ Σόλων ὁ  
 παλαιὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ᾤετο δεῖν  
 ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν  
 καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως. καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν,  
 εἰ εἰς φύσεως γραφαί. εἰσὶν. τίνος ἔνεκα; ἢ ἕκαστος  
 10 ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος

this charge, so common in the oration (cf. §§ 148, 152, 155, 159, 163, 176, 181, 187, 226, 253), is now, after the fashion of both rival orators, put as something too well known to need comment. Cf. §§ 53. 7, 144. 4. Dem. xviii. 50. Furthermore, for extra piquancy (cf. Dem. ix. 54), Demosthenes himself is represented as freely confessing it. For a valid defence on the main point, cf. Dem. xviii. 245. Prob. the story, Aul. Gell. xvii. 21. 31, cum Demosthenēi, quod fugerat probrose objiceretur, versu illo notissimo elusit, ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχέσεται, is fiction pure and simple, like the story of his saying to the bush that caught his cloak, ζώγρει (*Dec. Oratt. Vit.*, p. 845). An earlier charge of λιποταξία (ii. 148) rested simply on the fact that, during the Euboean campaign, Demosthenes went home to perform the λειτουργία imposed upon him. See Schäfer, II. pp. 95 ff.

5. Σόλων: see on § 2. 4.

6. ἐπιτιμίοις: neut. The penalty consisted in being excluded from the deliberations of the ἐκκλησία (i. 29; Dem. xv. 32; Lys. x. 1), without confiscation of property (Andoc. i.

74, οὔτοι πάντες ἀτιμοὶ ἦσαν τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα εἶχον). — ᾤετο δεῖν: the same phrase is also used of Solon in Dem. xviii. 6.

7. ἐνέχεσθαι: similar const. with dat. without ἐν, Dem. li. 11, τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεται. Cf. § 121. 4, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους. Lycurg. 78, 97. — τὸν ἀστράτευτον κτλ.: not a merely rhetorical tripling of a single fault. Cf. Lys. xiv. 7, ἡγοῦμαι ὅλα τῷ νόμῳ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐνοχον εἶναι· ἀστρατείας μὲν γὰρ δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι, ὅτι καταλεγείν οὐκ ἐπαρῆν, λιποταξίου δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέζηλθε μεθ' ὑμῶν στρατοπεδεύμενος, δειλίας δέ, ὅτι δεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν κινδυνεύειν ἰππεύειν εἴλετο. The same threefold division occurs Andoc. i. 74.

8. ὁμοίως: nearly otiose with τοῖς αὐτοῖς. — θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις: cf. i. 17.

9. εἰ εἰς: causal. See on § 147. 6. — φύσεως γραφαί: indictments for a natural infirmity.

10. φοβούμενος μᾶλλον: i.e. fear is to cure that very constitutional defect. For the same idea of the office of punishment, cf. Lycurg. 10; Xen. An. ii. 6. 10 (Clearchus' idea), ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἔρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους.

176 γίγνεται. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει· οὐκ οὖν ἔῃ στεφανοῦσθαι οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτελῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστε-  
5 φάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σταντοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγωδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκείνο  
10 μέμνησθε ὅταν φῇ δημοτικὸς εἶναι· θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ τίς ἔστιν.

177 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως ἔτι

176. 2. *περιρραντηρίων*: *space consecrated by sprinkling*. Purificatory offerings were as common with the Greeks as with the Jews. Before the opening of the business proceedings in the ἐκκλησία, a priest carried around a suckling pig and sprinkled the place with its blood, performing thus a consecration. See Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 382; *Assemblies of the Athenians*, Chap. viii. Cf. 1. 21.

3. *ἀγορᾶς*: not the market-place, but the assembly. See on § 111. 5.—οὐκ ἔῃ *στεφανοῦσθαι*: it is not likely that any law forbade the crowning of an ἄτιμος. That would go without saying. Aeschines, in his desire to bring in his main point (see on § 159 *fin.*), is putting in a little innocent interpretation of the law, as in 1. 19, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων γενέσθαι, ὅτι οἶμαι στεφανηφόρος ἢ ἀρχή, where, however, the interpretation is kept distinct from the law.

4. *εἰσιέναι* κτλ.: cf. 1. 183 = [Dem.] LIX. 85–87, ἐφ' ἧ γὰρ ἂν μοιχὸς ἀλφ' γυναικί, οὐκέτ' ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ εἰλθεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν δημοτελῶν.—*δημο-*

*τελῇ*: see Bekker, *Anecd.* I. p. 240, τὰ μὲν δημοτελῆ θύματα ἢ πόλις δίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὰ δημοτικά οἱ δημόται.

6. οὐ προσήκοντα: *sc. εἰσκαλεῖν* οὐ εἰσιέναι.

7. *τραγωδοῖς*: *dat. of time*. See on §§ 34. 6, 36. 8.

8. *τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ προδεδωκότα*: *acc. to the strained construction of Lycurg.* 78, τὸ γὰρ τούτου μέρος ἐκλελειμμένη (i.e. ἡ πατρὶς) τοῖς πολεμοῖσι υποχείριός ἐστιν. Cf. *id.* 17, 45, 97, 144. Lycurgus' recent plea (see on § 252 *fin.*) may have furnished Aeschines with this suggestion.

9. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ κτλ.: = § 190 *in*. See on § 76 *fin.* This is a phrase peculiar to Aeschines.

DIGRESSION II. *On the honors conferred by the state and on the condition of the state in old times.* §§ 177–190. For the answer, cf. Dem. xviii. 314 ff. Blass (*Att. Bered.* III. 2, p. 190) regards the epilogue in the widest sense as beginning at this point rather than at § 230.



μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ κατα-  
 λύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνοους δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς εἰκῇ διδομένους  
 στεφάνους, οὐθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν ὑμῖν εἰσονται οὔτε  
 5 τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματά ποτ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται. ὅτι δ'  
 ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεγάλα τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν.  
 178 εἰ γάρ τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσκει πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξότερα  
 δοκεῖ ἢ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 προγόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν προ-  
 γόνων. ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί;  
 5 τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ καταδεέστεροι. δω-  
 ρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν  
 πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε πλείους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν ἦν  
 σπάνια τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα

§ 177. 1. ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι: the speaker aims at the appearance of speaking extempore. See on § 57. 3. So also in στεφανῶν ἀνεμνήσθην, as if the στεφανοῦσθαι, etc., of § 176, instead of being lugged in, had occurred to him at the moment.

2. προλέγω: cf. § 5. 6. The lack of ὅτι here is noticeable. It is as if ὅτι, not being put in at the prop. place for it, were forgotten after the condit. sent. With an opposite result, though the principle is similar, ὅτι is sometimes repeated. Cf. Xen. An. vii. 4. 5, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει τὰς κώμας.

3. δωρεὰς: always used for the honorable gifts from the state. δῶρον had sinister associations. Cf. δωροδόκημα, δῶρον γραφῆ.

4. οὐθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι: there seems no doubt that the Athenians had cheapened these honors very much, and that Aeschines is making a capital point here. The whole topic, however, seems an echo of Dem. xxiii. 196 ff.

5. ἐπανορθωθήσεται: cf. Dem. ix. 4, ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ' ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. Ibid. 76.

6. οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν: cf. i. 25, μέγα δὲ πάνυ σημεῖον ἔργῳ οἶμαι δείξειν. σημεῖον rather than τεκμήριον, as something 'plain for all folks to see.' Usual in the combination σημεῖον δέ γάρ. Cf. Dem. xviii. 285.

§ 178. 4. ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον κτλ.: Aeschines sometimes uses a series of questions and answers with effect. Cf. §§ 20, 186; i. 28, 154. Because he does this so much less than Demosthenes some ancient critics, as Hermogenes, found him monotonous and drowsy. See Blass, Att. Bered. III. 2, p. 213.

5. διαφέροντες: eminent; abs. use already freq. in Isocrates.

6. σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ: see on § 196. 2.

8 ff.-τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια κτλ.: for an imitation, cf. Nep. Mil. 6, ut enim populi Romani honores quon-



τίμιον· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καταπέπλνται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ  
 179 στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιείσθαι. οὐκ  
 οὖν ἄτοπον οὕτωςι διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νυνὶ  
 πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον  
 ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ'  
 5 ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν. οἶεσθ'  
 ἂν ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐβελήσαι τινα ἐπασκεῖν  
 εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώ-  
 νων παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ

dam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. The elaborate balancing of clauses is Isocratic. Cf. § 179. 4.

9. καταπέπλνται: washed out, more speaking metaphor than Nepos' equiv., obsoleti. The prep. is intensive. — τὸ πρᾶγμα: opp. to τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα.

10. ἐξ ἔθους: as contrasted with ἐκ προνοίας, equiv. to εἰκῇ, § 177. 3.

§ 179. 1. οὐκ οὖν ἄτοπον: cf. § 242.

4. For a similar turn, cf. §§ 230, 244, 250, 258.

2. διαλογιζομένοις: when we reflect, dat. of interest in loose relation. G. 184, 5; H. 771 a.

3. εἶναι: subj. of ἄτοπον (ἴσται).

5. ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν: "it is absurd, but I will try to explain this to you."

6. ἐπασκεῖν: competitors in the Olympic games were obliged to show that they had been in regular training for ten months. See Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 215. Cf. 1. Ep. Cor. ix. 25, πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται.

7. εἰς: for. — στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων:

the four great national games of Greece with their well-known crowns of leaves. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 2, οἷον, ὅτι Δωριεὺς στεφανίτην ἀγῶνα νενίκηκεν, ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ὀλύμπια νενίκηκεν. Lycurg. 51. Games in which prizes of intrinsic value were awarded belonged not only to the Homeric age and the later days of degeneracy, but also to the best days of athletics in Greece. For a partial list, cf. Pind. *O.* vii. 83 ff. Even in the four great games valuable gifts followed the victors, over and above the customary crown. Cf. Dem. xx. 141, μεγίστας δίδοτε ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου δωρεὰς τοῖς τοῖς γυμνικοῦς νικῶσιν ἀγῶνας τοὺς στεφανίτας.

8. παγκράτιον: cognate acc. G. 150, R; H. 716 a. Cf. *Rdt.* vi. 92, πενταέθλων ἐπασκήσας. ix. 105, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. This was regarded as the direst contest, τὶ τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων. Cf. Xenophanes, ii. 5, τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον ὃ παγκράτιον καλεῖουσιν. It was introduced Ol. 33 (648 n.c.). See Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 226. It consisted of a combination of boxing and wrestling, subject of course to some regulations to prevent it from becoming a rough and tumble fight.

ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξα-  
 180 μένῳ; οὐδ' εἰς ἅν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν. νῦν δ' οἶμαι διὰ τὸ  
 σπάνιον καὶ περιμάχητον καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἀείμνηστον εἶναι  
 τὸ νικᾶν θέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα παραθέμενοι καὶ  
 τὰς μεγίστας τλαιπωρίας ὑπομείναντες διακινδυνεύειν.  
 5 ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολι-  
 τικῆς ἀρετῆς, κάκεῖν' ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δω-  
 ρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε,  
 πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ βουλο-  
 μένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζεσθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιει-  
 181 κεῖς φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ

Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 5, ὁ δυνάμενος τὰ σκέλη ρίπτειν πως καὶ κινεῖν ταχὺ καὶ πόρρω δρομικός, ὁ δὲ θλίβειν καὶ κατέχειν παλαιστικός, ὁ δὲ ᾄσαι τῇ πληγῇ πυκτικός, ὁ δ' ἀμφοτέροις ταύτοις παγκρατιστικός. Luc. *Demon.* 49. Philostr. *Imag.* ii. 6.

9. τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ: to one who has cheated his way through. Cf. §§ 180 fin., 232 fin. Thuc. i. 131. 2, καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει (sc. Pausanias) τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων, ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθεν. Schol. *ibid.*, τὸ ἀνίστασθαι τι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσι διαπράξασθαι λέγεται. Of the strict fairness with which the Olympic games were managed the importance of the office of Ἑλλανοδίκης (cf. Paus. v. 9. 4 f.) and the great number of statues of Zeus erected at Olympia from fines imposed upon offenders against the rules of the games (cf. Paus. v. 21. 2) are proofs.

180. 2. σπάνιον: the main point of comparison, yet the climax is effective.—ἀείμνηστον: favorite word with Aesch. Cf. § 148 fin.; II. 180.—εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν: see App.

3. παραθέμενοι: *hazarding*. Cf. the

Homeric phrase, ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες. Fatal results from boxing were not unknown. Cf. Paus. vi. 9. 3.

4. τλαιπωρίας: *pinos* is a prominent element of the games in Pindar. Cf. *O.* v. 15; *I.* i. 42; v. 10. See on § 179. 6.

5. ὑπολάβετε κτλ.: see on § 153. 1.—ἀγωνοθέτας: primary meaning, *instituter* or *director* of games. Cf. Dem. v. 22, τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι (of Philip). ix. 32, τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, κἄν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσαντας πέμπει. In common use, and perhaps here, equiv. to ἀλοθέτης and βραβεύς, *judges*, such as the Ἑλλανοδίκαι. With πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς the word makes a fine metaphor, which the speaker is reluctant to drop. Cf. line 8, § 232. 9.

8. τῷ βουλομένῳ: i.e. mere desire unaccompanied by deserts establishes no claim for a prize.

§ 181. Marathon and Salamis were on every Athenian orator's tongue, and the allusion comes in here very naturally. But it was destined to give a singular appropriateness to the incomparable climax of the great reply,



- σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας, ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ  
 5 Δημοσθένης ὁ νυνὶ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην νικήσας; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ τὴν  
 182 ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένης; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μεμνησθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου κακέωνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐπιδειξάτω τοῖνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐ-  
 5 τοῦ λόγῳ, εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν στεφανῶσαι. ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγάλόφρων, κακέωνοί γε τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι. οὐ γὰρ ῥῶντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς  
 10 ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὔσα διαμένει. δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.
- 183 Ἦσαν τινες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ τοὺς τότε και-

Dem. xviii. 208. In the masterly turning of this allusion, even more than in the verdict of the jury, Aeschines must have felt his own inferiority.

6. οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς κτλ.: see on § 187. 11. Among these new founders of the democracy after the Thirty Tyrants, Thrasybulus does not appear to have attained the individual distinction assigned to Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. Cf. the constant designation οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, Lys. xii. 54 ff.

7. Ἀριστείδης κτλ.: cf. i. 25, Ἀριστείδης ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων Τιμάρχῳ τούτῳ. Some more piquant epithet than ἄδικος lies in the speaker's mind, such as δωροδόκος, σκολοφάντης or βάταλος. Cf. ii. 99.

§ 182. 3. θηρίου: cf. ii. 20, παρακελεύεσθαι μέ φησιν αὐτῷ ὅπως τὸ θηρίον κοινῇ φυλάξομεν, τὸν Φιλοκράτην. The epithet is applied to one whose pονηρία has suppressed all sense of common humanity. Cf. ii. 146, ἅμα ταῖς αἰτίαις ταύταις φανῆναί με δεῖ θηριώδη καὶ ψυχὴν ἁστοργον (i.e. if I had no regard for my parents). It is liberally bestowed by Demosthenes (xxiv. 143; xxv. 8; xxxiv. 52; xxxv. 8). Dinarchus is quite free with it in speaking of Demosthenes. Cf. Dinarch. i. 50, ὧ μισρὸν σὺ θηρίον.

183. 1. τοὺς τότε καιροὺς: while men still looked for their honors only ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων.



ρούς, οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν· ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ὅτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων γνώσεσθε. ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν  
 ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλεως ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς

3. ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ: first campaign of the Greek fleet under the hegemony of Athens, in which, commanded by Cimon, it forced the surrender of Eion, near the mouth of the Strymon, 476 B.C. (!). Cf. Thuc. i. 98. 1, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούontos. Cf. Paus. viii. 8. 5. The heroic defence of the Persian garrison under Boges is related Hdt. vii. 107. Cf. Plut. Cim. 7. From the two latter passages and Hdt. vii. 106, it appears that the first years of the Athenian hegemony, which Thucydides hardly touches, were filled with the arduous and partially unsuccessful labors of pressing back the Persians from Europe. See Grote, V., c. 45 in., p. 150. This victory paved the way to the settlement of Amphipolis, and to an extensive Athenian supremacy along the coast of Thrace. — Μήδους: after the manner of Hdt. and Thuc., the sources of the story. Plutarch (Cim. 7.) uses Πέρσας.

4. ἔδωκεν: asyndeton. See on § 62. 3.

6. Ἑρμᾶς: "half-statues of the god Hermes, blocks of marble about

the height of the human figure, the upper part cut into head, face, neck, and bust; the lower part was left as a quadrangular pillar, with the significant mark of the male sex in front. They were distributed in great numbers throughout Athens, and always in the most conspicuous situations." Grote, VII., c. 58 in., p. 4 (in speaking of the famous mutilation of the *Hermæ*). — τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν: also called simply οἱ Ἑρμαῖ, a portico decked with *Hermæ*, bordering on the north side of the Agora. Cf. Dem. xx. 112, ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὡς ἅρα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πόλλ' ἀγάθ' εἰργασμένοι τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἡξοῦντο τοιοῦτου, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς (only too gladly) ἐπιγράμματος ἐν ταῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον. — ἐφ' ὅτε: see on § 114. 3.

8. ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου: cf. [Dem.] xiii. 21 f., Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Μιλτιάδην ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν κρείττους ὄντας, οὕτως ἐτίμων, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως.

§ 184. 4 ff. These inscriptions are found also in Plut. Cim. 7. For a discussion as to their genuineness,

- 5 ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἄμ πεδίον,  
 ὃν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων  
 κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.  
 οὕτως οὐδὲν αἰεὶ κῆς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι  
 κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἄμφι καὶ ἡγορέης.
- 185 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ  
 ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μῆδων  
 παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἄμφι ῥοάς,  
 λιμόν τ' αἰθῶνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
- 5 πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμχανίην.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγράφεται Ἑρμῇ  
 ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν  
 ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.  
 μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπ' ἔσσομένων ἐθελήσει
- 10 ἄμφι ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

see Rosenberg, *Jahrb. für Philologie*, 1870, pp. 530 ff. Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, V. pp. 48-60. For similar citing of epigraphic material, cf. Dem. xviii. 289. — *Μενεσθεύς*: cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 552, τῶν αὐθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετῶω Μενεσθεύς. τῷ δ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ, κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

§ 185. 2. ἦν: old form of 3d pl. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 321, τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί. 825, ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὕφιος. See Meyer's *Griech. Gram.* § 483, where the form is explained as Doric, from *ἔαν* for *ἔσαν*. Kr. *Dial.* 63, 3, 4.

4. *Λιμόν αἰθῶνα*: cf. Callim. *Cer.* 67, ἄγριον ἐμβαλε λιμόν, αἰθῶνα, κρατερόν. The Eng. phrase 'burning thirst' seems more rational. Perhaps not without reason is this item put before *κρατερόν Ἀρηα*. There was more starvation than fighting. Cf. Plut. *Cim.* 7, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα θορᾶ-

καὶ θέν ἀντοῖς ἐφόλτα σίτος, ἀναστάντος ποῖων, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστησεν κτλ. Paus. viii. 8. 5 ascribes the taking of the town to Cimon's turning the course of the Strymon against its walls.

5. *πρῶτοι* κτλ.: they were the first to reduce the enemy to despair. Perhaps justified by the suicide of the garrison (cf. *Hdt.* vii. 107), but better taken as common epigraphic exaggeration by which Plataea is ignored. For a similar exaggeration, cf. Dem. xviii. 289 (epitaph of the Athenians who fell at Chaeronea), ἀντιστάλων ὕβριν ἐπεσκέδασαν. Possibly *Hdt.* vi. 112, πρῶτοι δ' ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθῆμένους, may be an adaptation of some similar epigraphic praise.

10. *ἀμφι ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι*: for the commonwealth. The last inscription has simple grandeur, and as it con-



ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

- 186 Προέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ  
 5 γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτως μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. πῶς; οὐκ ἦρτησε τὴν δωρεάν; ἦρτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δήμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ γραφῆναι παρακαλοῦντα τοὺς στρα-  
 187 τιώτας. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ μητρώῳ, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς

tains the point which Aeschines is making (*cf.* § 183 *fin.*) he would have no sense for the strength of his quotations if he did not close with this. See App.

186. 1. τῇ διανοίᾳ: see on § 153 *in.* — στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην: the largest and finest of the porticos surrounding the agora, sometimes called ἡ μακρά, but more commonly as here, on account of the magnificent historical paintings by Polygnotus, Micon, and Panaenus, which covered its walls. It was on the west side of the agora. *Cf.* Paus. i. 15. See Leake, *Topography of Attica*, p. 159. Bursian *Geogr. Griech.* I. p. 286. The Stoic philosophy derived its name from the fact that Zeno its founder began his teaching in this porch.

3. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ: as this was the centre of the city's life. *Cf.* Dem. xviii. 68, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκδοτὴν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι.

4. λέγω: I mean.

6. ὅτι: *cf.* § 208. 3. So often, equiv.

to our sign of quot. See Kr. *Spr.* 65, 1, 2.

7. πῶς: see on § 178. 4; question of astonishment like πῶς δέ and πῶς γάρ in Plato. — ἦρτησεν: it seems that Miltiades did ask, but that the people refused. There is no hint, § 183. 4, that Cimon did not get all that he asked for. Perhaps his father's failure had made him wiser. Conon received what was here denied. *Cf.* Dem. xx. 69, τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ στηλῇ γέγραπται· ἐπειδὴ Κόνων, φησὶν, ἡλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους.

9. γραφῆναι: distinguished from ἐπιγέγραπται. *Cf.* Nep. *Milt.* 6, huic Miltiadi talis honos tributus est in porticu quae Poicile vocatur cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur.

187. 1. μητρώφ: temple of Cybele near the Βουλευτήριον, built by Phidias, used as a depository of state archives. *Cf.* Paus. i. 3. 4. Dem. xix. 129.



ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν, ἔστω ἰδεῖν.  
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοί-  
 λης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶ-  
 5 τὸν μὲν εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμᾶς,  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα,  
 ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκα-  
 στον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῶ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ  
 στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται.  
 10 καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πράξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν  
 βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον, οὐχ ὅσοι  
 τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ  
 λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

15

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΤΑΗΣ.

188 Παρανάγνῳθι δὴ καὶ ὁ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθέ-  
 νει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων αἰτίῳ κακῶν.

3. Ἀρχίνος: joint leader with Thrasybulus in the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants. Cf. § 195; II. 176. Dem. XXIV. 135, Ἀρχίνου τοῦ Φυλῆν καταλαβόντος καὶ μετὰ γε τοῦς θεοὺς αἰτιωτάτου ὄντος τῆς καθόδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πεπολιτευμένου καὶ ἐστρατηγηκότος πολλάκις. — Κοίλης: deme in the southwest of Athens by the Melitian gate, named from its lying in a hollow. Cf. Hdt. VI. 103, τέθραπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἔσπετος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ.

7. Θαλλοῦ: like the victors in the great games. See on § 179. 7.

10. εἰκῇ: cf. § 177. 3; opp. to ἐκ προνοίας, § 178. fin. — τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην: sc. τοῦτο πράξαι.

11. ἐπὶ Φυλῇ: 'on Phyle's brow'

(Byron). Cf. Lys. XII. 52. Phyle was a mountain fortress 100 stadia from Athens towards Boeotia, on the spurs of Mt. Parnes. See Bursian, Geogr. Griech. I. p. 333. Mahaffy, Rambles in Greece, pp. 157 ff. — ὅτε . . . προσέβαλλον: for the account, see Xen. Hell. II. 4. 2 ff.

12. οὐχ ὅσοι κτλ.: Schol., τοῦτο παρ' ὑπόνοιαν. δέον γὰρ περὶ τῶν τότε τι εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην αἰνιττόμενος οὕτως ἐπήνεγκεν. One of Aeschines' happiest thrusts.

§ 188. 2. κακῶν: emphatic arrangement worthy of Demosthenes. In contrast to the long list of glorious achievements, this word freighted with sad memories is left with the jury while the ψήφισμα is being produced.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγαγόν- 81  
 δ των τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖνο αἰ-  
 σχρῶς· εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, οὗτος ἀνάξιος  
 ὦν στεφανοῦται.

189 Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὥς οὐ  
 δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανω-  
 θῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην,  
 5 ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦν-  
 τας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
 τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν.

3. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ: the formal reading of Ctesiphon's bill is repeated at this point with good effect. With no such oratorical effect the same document is called for Dem. XVIII. 118.

4. ἐξαλείφεται: the same form of argument in § 244. 3.

5 f. εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς κτλ.: Schol., αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ διάλληλος δεῖξις. Gildersleeve, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1876, p. 6, calls this 'logical condition.'

§ 189. 1. πυνθάνομαι αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν: formula for introducing into the published oration a pretended anticipation. Cf. §§ 215, 228. That Aeschines should here anticipate the fine comparison, Dem. XVIII. 319, is not impossible, particularly as during the seven years while the case had been pending, its various points had been matter of common talk with friends on either side. But the apparent disturbance of the sequence of thought by the insertion is noticed by Schäfer, III. Beilage, p. 75. Then, too, Demosthenes would hardly have given the illustration unaltered without comment, if Aeschines had actu-

ally anticipated it in detail. For further discussion, see *Introd.*, § 20.

3. Φιλάμμωνα: Schol., πύκτης διδασκάλος· ἐνίκησεν ἑκατοστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδι (300 B.C.). Cf. Harpoc. s.v. Φιλάμμων: τὸν Ἀθηναῖον πύκτην. He was doubtless well known to the hearers. — στεφανωθῆναι: continuation of *indir. disc.* Cf. § 98. 7.

4. Γλαῦκον: the ploughboy of Carystus in Euboea, who, in still earlier times, appeared as a boxer in all the great national games, and surpassed all contestants, becoming a famous *περιοδονίκης*. Cf. Paus. vi. 10. 1 ff.

5. ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας: acc. abs. G. 278, 2, n.; H. 974.

7. πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν: with excellence *per se*, i.e. a high standard of excellence is a virtual competitor. The point is well taken. If the herald proclaims the crowning *ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα* of a man who notoriously does not possess that quality, the herald, and through him the people, will seem to be lying. On the other hand, a very moderate boxer can be

δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῇται πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. μὴ οὖν ἡμῖν  
10 ὡς Πατακίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

190 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγουσιν.

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

5 Τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν  
ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

191 Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ

proclaimed victor over a still poorer one without the slightest offence to the public.

10. Πατακίωνος: Schol., οὗτος ἦν κλέπτῃς. Suid. s.v. Πατακίων: ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας τὸν βίον ποιούμενος, καὶ προσκρούειν ἐπιτηδεύων τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσι τῶν νέων. The connection would lead us rather to think that he was a politician of the worst sort. Doubtless like Philammon, Glaucus, Phrynonidas, and Eurybatus, so well known (in this case through contemporary comedy, cf. Suid. l.c.) as to be proverbial. Cf. Mich. Apost. xiv. 13, Πατακίωνος συκοφαντικώτερος. This part of the insertion is perhaps a little unfortunate for Aeschines; for as Demosthenes had challenged comparison with him, the reader's thought is likely to couple Aeschines and Patæcion.

11. τὰς χάριτας: the appropriate

thanks, i.e. your deserts. H. 657 b. Cf. Lys. xxx. 27; xxxi. 24.

§ 190. 1. Ἵνα μὴ ἀποπλανῶ κτλ.: see on § 76 fin.

5. ἐγέραιρε: distinguished, i.e. with the γέρας. Cf. Hom. Il. vii. 321, νότοισι δ' Αἴαντα διηκεέεσσι γέραιρεν. — παλαίχθων: = αὐτόχθων. The Athenians prided themselves especially in being aborigines. Cf. Isocr. iv. 24 f.; xii. 124, ὄντας δὲ μήτε μιγάδας μήτ' ἐπήλυδας ἀλλὰ μόνους αὐτόχθονας τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Aesch. Theb. 105, παλαίχθων Ἄρης, lays claim to Ares as an aboriginal god of Thebes.

7. πρῶτοι: pleonastic with ἤρξαν; so commonly in Thuc. See Classen on Thuc. ii. 36. 1. The phrase does not reduce the exploit to a simple beginning. Cf. πρῶτοι, § 185. 5.

DIGRESSION III. Significance of γραφαὶ παρανόμων, and their treatment



τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. ἔναυλον γὰρ  
 ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη,  
 ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον. καὶ  
 5 γὰρ τοι υἱὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐπυνθανόμην,  
 ὅς ἐτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάν-  
 των δὲ μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει πολλάκις πρὸς  
 ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῇς. ἔφη γάρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατελη-  
 λύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς δικα-  
 10 στήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. τί γάρ  
 ἔστιν ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πρᾶτ-  
 192 τοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἦσαν

at the hands of juries in old times and now. §§ 191-200.

§ 191. 2. ἔναυλον: ringing in the ears, vivid expression for 'fresh in the memory.' Cf. Plato *Menex.* 235c, οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα.

4. τινὲς τὰς γραφὰς κτλ.: natural return to the keynote of the exordium. Aeschines is not alone in laying great stress on this feature in the tyranny of the Thirty. Cf. Thuc. viii. 67. 2, καὶ ἐσθνεγκαν οἱ ξυγγραφῆς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξείναι μὲν ἀξήμιον εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται· ἦν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα γράψεται παρανόμων μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. Demosthenes himself is no less emphatic. Cf. Dem. xxiv. 154; LVIII. 34, ὅταν αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαὶ ἀναρεθῶσιν, δὲ δῆμος καταλύεται. — καὶ γὰρ τοι: and indeed; introducing a particular illustration of the implied consequence of the restoration of the democracy, i.e. that the people prized their παρανόμων γραφαὶ when they got them back again.

5. υἱός: attrib. appos. with peculiar effect. "I learned as a son would naturally learn of a father." With still more tenderness he speaks of his father as his source of information in II. 77, οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν πάντων οἰκειοτάτου ταῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην.

6. ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε: at the time of the trial on the Embassy, 343 B.C., his father was already 94 years old. Cf. II. 147. — ἀπάντων δὲ μετασχὼν κτλ.: cf. II. 147, συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ νέω μὲν ὄντι, πρὶν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσαι διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀθλεῖν τῷ σώματι, ἐκπεσόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα στρατεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἀριστεύειν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, συγκατάγειν δὲ τὸν δῆμον. See *Introd.* § 3.

10. ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον: "the γραφὴ παρανόμων was such not merely in name but in fact."

11. λέγοντος καὶ πρᾶττοντος: not a parallel antithesis to τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. πρᾶττοντος is added to give greater fullness, after the manner of Demosthenes.

§ 192. 2. ὥσπερ νῦν: cf. § 193. 4.

πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς τὰ παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπὸδιζον τὸν  
 5 γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἡλίσκοντο οἱ τὰ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ πάντας παραπηδήσειαν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μόνον συλλαβὴν παραλλάξειαν. τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γιγνώμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμ-  
 10 ματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπωδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι πρὸς ἐτέρῳ  
 193τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. ἤδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχροὺς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γρα-

4. ἀνεπὸδιζον τὸν γραμματέα: lit. *made him step back*. Cf. Poll. ii. 196, ἀνεπὸδιζον τὸν γραμματέα Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔφη ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν ποιοῦν, καὶ ἀναποδιζόμενα Ἀντιφῶν τὰ πάλιν ἐξεταζόμενα.

7. παραπηδήσειαν: cf. ὑπερπηδήσας in §§ 12, 200, 202. The word expresses a more reckless violation of law than the regular παραβαίνειν.

8. μίαν μόνον συλλαβὴν: cf. § 140 *fin.*; hyperbole to increase the contrast. Cf. *Ev. Muth.* v. 18, ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαλὴ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου.

9. ὑπερκαταγέλαστον: cf. Dem. iv. 25, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἡλώως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν.

11. ἐπωδὴν: *magic formula*, in which one does not look for any regular significance. It is the inattention not to the pleading, but to the reading of the laws which really ought to decide the whole case, which Aeschines here censures. — πρὸς ἐτέρῳ κτλ.: equiv. to the more usual προσέχειν τινὶ τὴν γνώμην or τὸν νοῦν. Cf. Thuc.

i. 95. 2; Dem. xviii. 147, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν.

§ 193. 2. αἰσχροὺς ἔθος . . . παραδέχεσθε: the same complaint occurs already in i. 178, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις πολλάκις ἀφέμενοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λόγων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων ὑπάγεσθε καὶ πάντων ἀδικώτατον ἔθος εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας παραδέχεσθε.

3. μετενήνεκται: refers to the mutual shifting of the positions of plaintiff and defendant. Cf. § 207. 6. — ὑμῖν: studied ambiguity; dat. of agent or dat. of interest. — δίκαια: *mode of legal procedure*. Cf. i. 166, ἃ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐκείσθεται λυμαινόμενος τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἔστιν ὀργισθῆναι. πολλὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος ἔσται, ἀναμειχθήσεται δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὄνομα Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4. ὁ δὲ φεύγων κατηγορεῖ: the same commonplace is more cleverly applied Dem. xix. 213, where the situation was reversed, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἂν γέ τι ἔξω τῆς πρεσβείας βλασφημῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ,



- 5 φῆν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν. λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἂν ἄρα ποθ' αἰσῆται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν.
- 194 ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζη- νιεύς λέγων ὅτι γραφᾶς παρανόμων ἀπέφυγεν ἐβδομή- κοντα καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος,
- 5 ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν ἔφυγε παρανόμων, καλῶς οἶμαι σεμνυνόμενος. ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ

κατὰ πολλὰ οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούοιτε αὐ- τοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνομαι τήμερον οὐδ' ἔγχεῖ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὅδωρ οὐδεὶς ἐμοί. τί οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα πλὴν δικαίων λόγων ἀπορία; τίς γὰρ ἂν κατηγορεῖν ἔλοιτο κρινόμενος, ἔχων ὅ τι ἀπολογήσεται; Cf. *Ly.* xxx. 7.

5. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ κτλ.: almost ver- bal repetition of i. 175, which is the source also of the rest of this section.

8. ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη κτλ.: outlines the only possible defence on the techni- cal points of the indictment. Demos- thenes does indeed make something of this argument from precedents. Cf. *Dem.* xviii. 114, 120, 222-224. It is not unlikely that Ctesiphon in his brief defence, preceding the oration of Demosthenes, confined himself mainly to this matter. Cf. line 10.

§ 194. 2. Ἀριστοφῶν: see on § 139. 4.

4. ὁ Κέφαλος: mentioned with honor in connection with Archinus, Dinarch. i. 76. Demosthenes (xviii. 251) endorses the praise here be-

stowed, but claims no less praise for Aristophon. The most that he claims for himself is (*ibid.*) μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης. The epithet πάλαιος does not signify antiquity, as in the case of Solon (§ 175. 6) and Minos, for Cephalos lived in the times succeeding the Thirty Tyrants, but rather *aged*, or, with a touch of ten- derness, *venerable*.

5. δημοτικώτατος: just what, acc. to the view of Aeschines, Demos- thenes is not. Cf. §§ 168 ff. — οὐχ: repetition with added emphasis. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 5 f., ὁποῖον οὐ τῶν σῶν τε καμῶν οὐκ ἔπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν. See *Kr. Spr.* 67, 11, 3.

8. ἐγράφοντο γὰρ κτλ.: the reason- ing is: "The boast was all the more significant, the more strenuous such complaints were in those times."

9. διαπολιτευόμενοι: the distinction made by L. and S. between this and ἀντιπολιτεύειν is hardly supported by the passages cited.



10 καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἑξαμάρτοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 82  
 195 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης  
 ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα, ἕνα τῶν  
 συγκατελθόντων, καὶ εἶλε νεωστὶ γεγεννημένων αὐτῷ τῶν  
 εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταί· ἡγούντο  
 5 γάρ, ὥσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύ-  
 βουλος κατήγαγεν, οὕτω νῦν κατελθόντας ἐξελαύνειν.  
 196 ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸνναντίον γίγνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀγα-  
 θοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν τὰς σιτήσεις τινὲς εὐρη-  
 μένων ἐξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς  
 ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ τις  
 5 ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἦν οἱ  
 θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σφύζουσι, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς τὰ παρα-

§ 195. 1. Ἀρχῖνος: see on § 187. 3.

2. Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα: see on § 181. 6; distinguished from ὁ Κολλυτεύς, § 138. 4. On the restoration of the democracy, Thrasybulus had immediately proposed the conferring of the citizenship upon Lysias for his important services. The proposal passed the ἐκκλησία. Since, however, no βουλή had at that time been formed, Archinus indicted the so-called ψήφισμα as illegal because it lacked the constitutionally requisite προβούλευμα. There was nothing to do but declare the proceeding null. To the disgrace of Athens the matter was not brought up de novo, and Lysias remained a metic of the most favored class, an isoteles. For a full and interesting description of the case, see Schol. Laur. ad loc.

4. ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταί: for the bitter reproach uttered by Thrasybulus, cf. *ibid.*, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ τιμῇ παρελθὼν θανάτου, ἐφη, τιμῶμαι, ὅτι ἀχαρίστους Ἀθηναίους ὄντας ἐὺ ἐποίησα.

196. 1. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν: sc. τοῦτο γίγνεται.

2. ὑμῖν: ethical dat. Cf. § 73. 6. Dinarch. I. 1, 53, ὁ δημαγωγὸς ὑμῖν.— τὰς σιτήσεις: for the custom at Athens of conferring entertainment at the public table in the Prytaneum on those who had done the state some conspicuous service, see Schömann, I. p. 445. The custom is made memorable to us by the words of Socrates. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 38 d. Cf. § 178. 6; II. 80.

3. ἐξαιτοῦνται: Aeschines himself had been saved by the intercession of Phocion and Eubulus. Cf. II. 184.

4. εἰ γάρ τις κτλ.: see on § 188 *fin.*

5. τοιαύτη ἦν: ἃς instead of οἷος is common in such connections. Cf. I. 146, 172. Lys. XIII. 13, ἦλθε (sc. Theramenes) φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν.

6. οἱ νόμοι σφύζουσι: cf. §§ 6, 23 *fin.*, 169. 5. Here with a touch of reverence the laws are put second to the gods.

νομα γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετίμη-  
 197ται. τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ συνη-  
 γόρῳ; ἐγὼ λέξω. εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν  
 εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐγχείται γὰρ  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγορῷ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ  
 5 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι  
 καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ  
 πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ  
 ἐγχείται τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμε-  
 198τέρας. ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν

§ 197. 1. *συνηγόρῳ*: pred. (H. 618), equiv. to a clause, *when he is to appear as συνήγορος*, i.e. in the capacity indicated in § 196 in. See on § 7. 5, 6. Demosthenes was a *συνήγορος* in the present case.

4. *τῷ κατηγορῷ* κτλ.: identification of himself with the laws and the democracy. See on § 22. 9.

6. *εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα*: to the point. Cf. § 206. 7; I. 178, *ἀφένενοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λόγων*. The speaker calls for the exclusion of *συνήγοροι* who will not confine themselves to the subject under discussion. Demosthenes will try to introduce larger issues and mix up a good deal of Philip and Alexander with a simple *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. Cf. l.c. on § 193. 3. But Aeschines himself had gone beyond the limits of a strict *παρανόμων γραφή* in his attack on Demosthenes' public life. See on § 49. 1. It was he who threw down the gauntlet, and he now presents the aspect of trying to prevent his antagonist from picking it up. This must have produced an unfavorable impression on the jury. It gave Demosthenes an opportunity to open the battle with an indignant protest (xviii. 5) which

could hardly fail of a response in the minds of the jury. That Aeschines had no hope of success in this *πάλασμα δικαστηρίου* appears from § 202. 8. Indeed, the audience was assembled for the very purpose of hearing Demosthenes. — *τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ*: the Athenian jury first voted on the question of guilt or innocence, and subsequently, in case of conviction, *ἐπειδὴν μὴ λυθῇ* (cf. § 205. 6), upon the punishment, if that was not already fixed by law. See Schömann, I. p. 488. The most memorable case illustrating this is that of Socrates, who after being condemned by a small majority treated the question of penalty in such a way as to anger the jury (Plato *Apol.* 36 ff.) and to cause them to choose by a large majority the death penalty proposed by Meletus.\* In Lys. xxvii. 16 occurs the same balancing, *καταψηφισάμενοι* — *ἐν τῇ τιμῇ*, and *ἐν μὲν τῇ ψήφῳ* — *ἐν δὲ τῇ τιμῇ*. In [Dem.] xxv. 83, *οὗτος θανάτου ἐτιμᾶτο πρὶν τὴν πρώτῃν ψήφον διενεχθῆναι* is given as a case of extra-judicial procedure.

8. *τιμῇ*: on the question of the latitude allowed the jury in this matter, see Schömann, I. p. 488, note.



ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ  
 λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, ὄρκον αἰτεῖ, δημο-  
 κρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ οὐτ'  
 5 αἰτηθέντα ἐτέρῳ δοῦναι. κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτούς, ἐάσαν-  
 τας τὴν πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν,  
 199 ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν. ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, ὀλίγον δέω εἰπεῖν, ὥς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς γραφαῖς μόναις ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι  
 μήτε τῷ κατηγορῶ συνηγόρους παρασχέσθαι μήτε τῷ τὴν  
 5 γραφὴν φεύγοντι. οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ'

§ 198. 2. *παραιτεῖται*: begs for the mitigation or remission of. Cf. II. 19, *ὅστινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρατήσονται τὰς ζημίας* (i.e. beg for the remission of fines incurred by Aristodemus by forfeiting his theatrical engagements to take part in the embassy). *ἐξαιτοῦνται*, § 196. 3, is not essentially different; nor *αἰτεῖ*, line 3 ff., except the first time. This entreaty, in contrast to the following, is treated as somewhat venial and natural.

3. *τὴν ψῆφον*: the vote on the main question of guilt or innocence.—*αἰτεῖ*: in each case, except the first, the exact equivalent in Eng. would be, *asks the surrender of*. Blass (*Att. Bered.* III. 2, p. 210) finds this repetition of *αἰτεῖ*, antistrophe (cf. Alexand. *περὶ σχημάτων*, Spengel, *Rhet. Graec.* III. p. 30), carried ad nauseam, and likely to break the force of the really splendid similar passage so soon to follow, § 202. Most nearly parallel to this in Dem. is the threefold *μέχρι τούτου*, xviii. 48, at the beginning of successive clauses (technically so-called anaphora). For a free copy of this passage, cf. [Cic.], *Herenn.* iv. 19, *nam quum istos, ut absolut te, rogas, ut pejerent,*

*rogas; ut existimationem negligant, rogas; ut leges populi Romani tuae libidine largiantur, rogas*. It is not unlikely that this sent., to the emphasis of which the asyndeton and lack of the art. contribute, was much more effective than Blass supposes. See App.

5. *αὐτούς*: i.e. τοὺς συνηγόρους.

6. *διενεγκεῖν*: the prep. refers to the division of the votes. Cf. Dem. l.c. on § 197. 6. *fin.*, *διενεχθῆναι*.

7. *ἀπαντᾶν*: put in an appearance. Cf. § 69 *fin.*

§ 199. 1. *ὅλως δέ*: favorite transition with Aeschines. Cf. § 210; I. 170.

3. *μόναις*: in keeping with the exaggerated importance hitherto ascribed to the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*; at the same time the speaker rather skilfully insinuates that what he is about to ask, the exclusion of Demosthenes from the case, should properly have been rendered unnecessary long ago by the proper legal enactments.

5. *οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον*: *for right is not indefinite*, i.e. the question of guilt or innocence. Cf. Dem. iv. 36, *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἅτακτα ἀδύρθητα ἀρίστα ἅπαντα*.



ᾠρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ  
 τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ,  
 200 τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ᾧ διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν  
 ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ  
 δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγε-  
 γραμμένοι νόμοι. ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδεί-  
 5 ξας κατὰβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν;  
 ὅταν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῇς  
 κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις τὴν  
 ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν δημοκρα-  
 τίαν.

201 Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων; ἐγὼ  
 προερῶ. ἐπειδὰν προελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλθῃ

6. ὥσπερ κτλ.: the simile is in Aeschines' best manner, superior to the one in § 59 for simplicity, point, and conclusiveness.

§ 200. 3. τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον: cf. § 39. 2. In the γραφὴ παρανόμων, the plaintiff was obliged to append to his indictment the laws which he asserted were contravened by the παράνομον which he attacked. It was the duty of the presiding officer of the court (see on § 14. 10) to post these three items on a tablet near his office. In the present case the tablet would seem to have been brought into the court-room. Cf. Dem. xviii. 111; xx. 98; xxii. 34; xxiii. 51, 63, 215. See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* pp. 801 ff.

4. ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα κτλ.: the speaker represents the proper procedure as so simple that the appearance of an orator in the case should seem an impertinence. It appears from this and § 202. 5 that it rested with the jury whether they would allow

such appearance of a συνήγορος or not.

5. καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν: on the attempt to exclude Demosthenes, see on § 197. 6.

6. ὑπερπηδήσας: see on § 192. 7.

7 ff. κλέπτεις . . . βλάπτεις: the *δμοιστέλευτος* gives somewhat the effect of anaphora. See on § 198. 3.—καταλύεις τὴν δημοκρατίαν: closing the climax with the crime of crimes, as in § 198. 3. Here it would be left ringing in the ears of the jury (see on § 188. 2) in the pause which ensued.

*Means of averting an illegal defence; characterization of Demosthenes' rhetorical devices.* §§ 201-212.

§ 201. 1. ἀποτροπὴ λόγων: cf. Isocr. xx. 12, τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν ἀποτροπὴν, stronger than ἀπαλλαγὴ.

2. ἐνταυθοῖ: with a gesture towards the βῆμα τὸ τοῦ φέγοντος. See on § 207 *fin.*

πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον,  
 ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται, ὑπομνήσας αὐτὸν  
 5 ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ  
 ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ προσποιῆται  
 ὑμῶν ἀκούειν, μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευ-  
 γόντων τὰς δικαίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμε-  
 202 νοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. εἰ δ'  
 ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῇ Δημο-  
 σθένην, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε, [οἰόμενον ῥήμασι  
 τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν], μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μη-  
 5 δεῖς καταλογιζέσθω, ὅς ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφώντος  
 εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ "κάλει, κάλει."

3. τοῦτο δῆ: "simply this and nothing more." — *συντεταγμένον*: the assumption that Demosthenes arranged what Ctesiphon should say is doubtless correct. — *προοίμιον*: that this speech was nothing but a sort of proem to what Demosthenes would say is also probable. See on § 193 *fin*.

4. *ἐνδιατρίβῃ*: kills time, i.e. not by really stopping, but by trying to prolong his insignificant remarks to give them the appearance of a set speech. Cf. Dem. XLVIII. 20, *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐνδιέτριβε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐποίει*.

5. *ἄνευ θορύβου*: could be joined with *λαβεῖν*, since *θόρυβος* is used of brow-beating orators in II. 181, *μόνος ὑπομείνας τὸν τῶν συκοφαντῶν θόρυβον*, but, in view of the prevalent technical use of the word, is more properly joined with *ὑπομνήσας*. The jury are asked to give their order calmly, without the so much dreaded *θόρυβος*. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 30 c, *μὴ θορυβεῖτε*. If Ctesiphon refuses to obey, then they are to silence him with *θόρυβος* (*μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου*). — *τῷ ψηφίσματι*: dat., as here, also in Isocr. XII. 17.

6. *παραναγνῶναι*: cf. Dem. XVII. 267, *παρ' ὧς παρανάγναθι καὶ σὺ τὰς ῥήσεις ὡς ἐλυμάνου*. — *προσποιῆται*: it might be no mere pretence on the part of Ctesiphon that he did not understand an order given ever so calmly by 1000 jurors who would prob. not be unanimous in their cry.

7. *φευγόντων*: shunning.

§ 202. 3. *μάλιστα μὲν*: introducing an alternative far preferable to that introduced at line 8. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 103, 278. — *προσδέχεσθε* κτλ.: cf. § 16. 5, whence perhaps the addition [*οἰόμενον . . . αἰρήσειν*] was borrowed.

4. *ἐν ἀρετῇ*: to the credit of your magnanimity. See Morris on Thuc. i. 69. 1, and *Id.*, *Intro.* p. 36.

6. *πρῶτος*: it is this word, rather than the repeated *καλέει*, that indicates the tension of feeling on the part of the jury and the impatience with which they awaited the appearance of the great orator. A great oration from him was no less a treat to the public of that day than a new opera of Wagner to a German audience of recent times. Cf. § 193.



ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς. ἂν δ' ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι  
 203 ὥνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα. ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; ἵνα καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς, οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον οὔτε τῶν ἀδικημάτων 83 τῶν δημοσίων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δὴ πον  
 5 καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων, ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἐπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον οὐδὲ προσγράψαντα "ἐπειδὴν δὴ τὰς εὐ-  
 10 θύνας," ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις  
 204 εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. δεύτερον δ' ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ  
 5 ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν τόπον, κε-

7. καλεῖς κτλ.: see on § 198. 3.

9. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον: this attempt to prescribe an order to Demosthenes cost Aeschines dearly. The objection to it, Dem. xviii. 2, was so reasonable that it allowed a good starting-point for the defence. See *Intro.* § 23.

§ 203. 1. ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα: natural introduction to a recapitulation of the points of the indictment. The recapitulation is not introduced for its own sake, but to serve as the basis for an appeal. — ἵνα ὑπομνήσω: with ellipsis of the main clause. H. 883. Cf. § 172. 5.

2. τὸν ἴδιον βίον: §§ 51-53 are ignored as a case of *paraleipsis*. The boast, Lycurg. 149, οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον τοῦτου βίον διαβαλὼν οὐτ' ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος οὐδὲν κατηγορήσας, is much more comprehensive.

4. ἀφθονα καὶ πολλὰ: the former epithet renders the latter superfluous. This is an inversion of the more common order. Cf. Xen. *An.* v. 6. 25. Hes. *Op.* 118. For the use of pairs, see on § 131. 2.

9. προβαλλόμενον: see on § 11. 8.

§ 204. 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν κτλ.: the art of making two offences out of one is cultivated so assiduously



λεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀνάρ-  
 ρησιν γίνεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ  
 μελλόντων τραγωδῶν εἰσιέναι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν  
 10 περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλείστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων  
 205 ἀδικημάτων λέγω. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώ-  
 σατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶ-  
 τον, πρὸς τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ  
 ὡς οὐδὲ ἀνάξιος ἐστὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς. ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται  
 5 συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγ-  
 γελλόμονος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ  
 παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα  
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθὺς ποτε πρὸς τὸ  
 παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν  
 10 ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται  
 206 τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς  
 ἀγῶσι ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις

that it is carried even into the recapitulation. See on § 34. 4.

9. εἰσιέναι: see on § 153. 7.

205. 2. τῶν ὑπευθύνων: obj. gen. equiv. to περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων. Cf. Antipho, v. 9, τῷ τῶν κακούργων νόμῳ. Lys. I. 36, τοὺς νόμους τῆς μοχθείας. Dem. xxi. 35, ὁ τῆς βλάβης νόμος, for which, *ibid.* 43, οἱ περὶ τῆς βλάβης νόμοι.

3. τρίτον δέ: emphasis is added to this member of the numerical series by dropping the asyndeton and by the chiasmic arrangement.

6. ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ κτλ.: Demosthenes does not ask this degree of forbearance. The matter in question comes in the first half of his oration, §§ 110-121, and he follows a perfectly natural order. See *Intro.* § 23, note. — τὸ παράνομον: i.e. the two technical counts of the indictment.

7. πάλαισμα: fine figure developed § 206.

9. ἀπολογεῖσθαι: dependent on βούλεται. See App.

10. παρεμβολῇ: cf. I. 166, ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλαὶ παρεμβολαὶ λόγων ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εὑρεθήσονται. Closely parallel to the present passage is Dem. xi. 61, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχων περὶ ὧν φύγει τὴν δίκην μήτε μάρτυρας ἀξιώχρεως παρασχέσθαι μήτ' ἄλλο πιστὸν μηδέν, ἐτέρους παρεμβάλλη λόγους κακούργων καὶ βοᾷ καὶ σχετλιάζει μηδὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε αὐτῷ.

§ 206. With this admirable simile cf. Dem. iv. 40, for a simile taken from the same sphere.

2. περὶ τῆς στάσεως: cf. Quint. iii. 6. 3, videtur Aeschines quoque in oratione contra Ctesiphontem uti hoc verbo (i.e. στάσις), quum a iudicibus petit,

διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ  
5 ἔατε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιίστα-  
σθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες εἰσελαύνετε αὐ-  
τὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς  
207 αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηρεῖτε. ἀλλ' ἂ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ  
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν  
ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι προειπεῖν. ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα  
καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν. οὗτος  
5 κλάει μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιорκεῖ δὲ πάντων  
προχειρότατα· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος  
τοῖς ἔξωθεν περιεστηκόσι λοιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν

ne Demostheni permittant evagari, sed eum dicere de ipso causae statu cogant. Quintilian appears to have overlooked the words περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου.

6. εἰσελαύνετε: cf. I. 176 (different figure for the same situation), ὑμέτερον δ' ἔργον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιτετάχθαι καὶ πανταχῇ παρακολουθοῦντας μηδαμῇ παρεκκλίνειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ μὴδὲ τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ ἀγῶνος λόγοις διςχυρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις εἰς τὸν τοῦ πρᾶγματος δρόμον εἰσελαύνετε.

§ 207. 3. προειπεῖν: Aeschines is really about to give a picture of the character of Demosthenes as well as of his rhetorical devices. See on § 213 in.—ἐπεισάξει: see on § 153. 7.—γόητα: mountebank, refers to rhetorical devices; βαλαντιοτόμον, to avarice; διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν, to bad judgment in statesmanship. For the last combination, an ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, cf. § 166. 5. For a protest against this attempt to prejudice the jury, cf. Dem. xviii. 276.

5. κλάει: cf. § 210. 2. The tears of the m

with natural laughter. While the weeping element is not prominent in Demosthenes' reply, and his Philipics are by no means Jeremiads, yet the serious features of the Vatican statue suggest a man more inclined to tears than laughter, and reveal a propriety in this thrust. See A. Michaelis, *Bildnisse des Demosthenes*, incorporated into Schäfer (2d ed.), III. after p. 400. See also on § 255. 9.—ἐπιорκεῖ: like a Jesuit, a common charge in the orators. Cf. § 208. 9.

6. οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι κτλ.: attempt at anticipation. See on § 189 in. There is no corresponding turn in Demosthenes' reply.—μεταβαλλόμενος: wheeling about, vox militaris. Cf. Xen. Cyr. vii. 5. 6. Demosthenes will turn defence into attack by raising the cry of oligarchy, identifying loyalty to his party with loyalty to the state. Cf. § 193. 2 ff.

7. τοῖς ἔξωθεν: cf. § 56. 3. Unless a respectable number of the bystanders appeared to hold with the plaintiff this thrust would have no point.



ὀλιγαρχικούς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους  
 ἤκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς  
 208 πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. ὅταν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγῃ, πρὸς  
 μὲν τοὺς στασιαστικούς λόγους ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε,  
 ὅτι "ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύ-  
 γοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ αἶν ποθ' ἡ δημο-  
 5 κρατία κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμ-  
 βάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα  
 φθελγόμενοι, μὴ μνησικακεῖν· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μάλ-  
 λόν σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς  
 πόλεως." ὅταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὢν εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρκων  
 10 πίστιν καταφυγάνῃ, ἐκείνῳ ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι  
 τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, αἰεὶ δὲ μεθ' ὀρκων ἀξιοῦντι  
 πιστεῦσθαι δυοῖν θάτερον ὑπάρξαι δεῖ, [ὧν οὐδέτερόν

8. αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας: *the naked truth*, which is stronger than profes-  
 sions and declarations. Cf. Plato *Rep.*  
 510 a, ἡ καὶ ἐθέλοις ἂν αὐτὸ φάναι διη-  
 ρῆσθαι ἀληθεῖς τε καὶ μὴ, ὡς τὸ δοξα-  
 στὸν πρὸς τὸ γνωστόν, οὕτω τὸ ὁμοιωθὲν  
 πρὸς τὸ φ' ὁμοιώθη;

9. τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα: for this  
 custom of assigning a separate βῆμα  
 to each of the two contestants, cf.  
 Dem. XLVIII. 31, 'Ολυμπιάδωρος ἡγωνί-  
 ζετο πρῶτος, καὶ γὰρ σιωπῇ ἐκαθήμην ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ἑτέρου βήματος. Schol. on Dem.  
 XIX. 120. For a similar custom in  
 the court of the Areopagus, cf. Eur.  
 I. T. 902 ff., ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν  
 βάθρον, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἤπερ ἦν  
 Ἐρινῶν. Paus. I. 28. 5.

§ 208. 2. στασιαστικούς: see on  
 § 207. 6. -- ὑποβάλλετε: cf. § 48. 3.

3. ὅτι: cf. § 178. 3, 186. 6.

5. νῦν δέ: see on § 70. 9.

6. ἐκ παιδείας: see on § 117. 5.  
 Here mutual toleration which makes  
 civil life possible is regarded as

springing from culture, and is con-  
 trasted with the undying feuds of  
 those who lack such culture. Cf.  
 § 238. 6.

7. μνησικακεῖν: cf. Arist. *Eth. N.*  
 IV. 3. 30, οὐδὲ μνησικός· οὐ γὰρ μεγα-  
 λοψύχου τὸ ἀπομνημονεύειν. Demos-  
 thenes is fond of representing him-  
 self and Athens as incapable of this  
 ungenerous feeling. Cf. Dem. XVIII.  
 94, 96, 101. — ἐλκοποιεῖς: prob. pro-  
 verbial, *tear open old sores*. Cf. Bekker,  
*Anec.* I. p. 248, παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἥδη  
 πεπαιγμένα λυπηρὰ ἐπαναμνησκόντων.

8. αὐθήμερον: cf. Poll. I. 64, τὸ δὲ διὰ  
 μιᾶς ἡμέρας πραχθὲν αὐθήμερον. *Momen-  
 tary* oratorical success is contrasted  
 with the *abiding* safety of the state.

9. καταφυγάνῃ: only here and  
 Hdt. VI. 16, καταφυγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν  
 Μυκλήν.

10. ἀπομνημονεύσατε: equiv. to  
 ἀπομνημονεύετε ὑποβάλλετε, § 48. 3.

12. [ὧν . . . ὑπάρχον]: sad weaken-  
 ing of an otherwise fine dilemma.



ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον] ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς  
 209 ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς. περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ  
 τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτῶ "ποῖ καταφύγω,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιεγράψατέ με· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι  
 ἀναπτήσομαι," ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ "ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη- 84  
 5 ναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; πρὸς ποίαν συμμά-  
 χων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τί πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σαν-

13. τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς: since the gods of the popular mythology saw and punished perjury (cf. Lycurg. 79, τοὺς θεοὺς οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιорκήσας τις λάθοι οὐτ' ἂν ἐκφύγοι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν), the perjurer must be an atheist. Cf. Eur. Med. 492 ff., ὄρκων δὲ φρούδη πλίστις, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν εἰ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τότε οὐκ ἔρχειν ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ξύνοισθά γ' εἰς ἐμ' οὐκ ἐθορκος ὦν. But there is an element of piquancy in charging one with having new gods which would not lie in the simple charge of atheism. Cf. the famous indictment of Socrates, and the caricature of Euripides, Ar. Ran., 889 f., ET. ἕτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαι θεοί. ΔΙ. ἰδιοὶ τινές σου, κόμμα καινόν; The turn was prob. proverbial. See Schmidt, *Ethik der Griechen*, I. p. 76.

14. τοὺς αὐτοὺς: ἀκροατὰς καινοὺς would not have been Greek. καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, Plut. *Cat. Maj.* I, is simply a translation of *novus homo*.

§ 209. 2. τόνου τῆς φωνῆς: so also in § 210. 2. Demosthenes appears to have had a bad voice, which in his passionate delivery (see on § 167. 2) would strike a high key. Cf. II. 157, ἐντεινόμενος ταύτην τὴν δέξιαν καὶ ἀνόσιον φωνήν.

3. περιεγράψατέ με: you have circumscribed me. See App. Demosthenes will claim that his self-sacrificing efforts for the good of Athens have

procured personal enemies for him on every side. By these he is shut in as a bird in a cage. (That this is the figure in mind is shown by ἀναπτήσομαι in the next line.) The situation is analogous to that which confronts Medea, as set forth in Eur. Med. 502 ff., νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι κτλ.; Perhaps there is a sort of reminiscence of the stage running through this passage, betraying itself in the form of the following questions as well as in θεοὺς καινοὺς, § 208. 13. See *Intro.* § 9.

4. ἀνθυποβάλλετε: ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. Note the force of the first prep. Cf. ὑποβάλλειν, § 48. 3.—ὁ δὲ δῆμος... καταφύγη: fine rejoinder, silencing Demosthenes' personal grievances with the paramount question of the safety of the Athenian people.

5 ff. For an answer to these questions, cf. Dem. xviii. 299 ff. For a fine personal retort, cf. *ibid.* 311.—ποίαν, ποῖα: more piquant than τίνα.—τί προβαλλόμενος: cf. Dem. xviii. 300, ταῦτα προβαλλόμεν ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. See on § 84. 1. The double τί with finite verb and partic. is common. Cf. Dem. iv. 36, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. XIX. 63, σκοπεῖτε τί πιστεύσαντες τί ἔπαθον.—ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτλ.: for the same combination with πολιτεύεσθαι, cf. Dem. II. 4. xviii. 138 is different.

τοῦ βεβούλευσαι, πάντες ὁρώμεν. ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ  
οὐκ οἰκεῖς, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς  
10 πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρία τὸ  
210 βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκήματα." ὅλως  
δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς;  
οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, σὺ δ'  
οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζει;  
5 ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδὴ; περὶ χρυσῶν στε-  
φάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.  
211 ὃν ἐχρήν, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπι-  
λελησμένος ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν

9. οἰκεῖς: emphatic, contrasted with ἐξορμεῖς. "Your house in the Peiraeus is not, as you would have us suppose (ὡς δοκεῖς), a dwelling; it is an anchorage from which you are ready to slip cable and depart." — ἐν Πειραιεῖ: for Demosthenes' house in the Peiraeus, cf. Dinarch. i. 69, αὐτὸς εἰσνεγκὼν πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀστεϊ. Ibid. 36. — ἐξορμεῖς: virtually a perf. of ἐξορμίζεσθαι. Cf. Lycurg. i7, Λεωκράτης δὲ συσκευασμένος ἔειχε χρήματα μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Λέμβον κατεκόμισε, τῆς νεὸς ἥδη περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξορμούσης.

10. ἐφόδια... ἀνανδρία: oxymoron, "Demosthenes' campaign of cowardice is made with abundant provision." Cf. Dem. iii. 20, Φίλιππον δ' εἰς πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις.

11. βασιλικὸν χρυσίον: cf. §§ 238, 9. See on § 173. 7. — καὶ τὰ κτλ.: magnifying a single crime into two. See on § 34. 5, 204. 6.

§ 210. 1. ὅλως: after all.

2. τί: i.e. "What do they amount to?" In the two following questions τίς agrees with the subj., but the

sense is the same. See Kr. *Spr.* 61, 8.

3, 4. See App. This is disingenuous. Everybody knew that Ctesiphon's interest in the trial was only nominal compared with that of Demosthenes. See *Introd.* § 23, and on § 197. 6. — ἐπιτιμία: "The undiminished possession of the rights which by the constitution belonged to the citizens, is denoted by the expression ἐπιτιμία, which we may translate by 'possession of civic rights,' though its opposite, ἀτιμία, by no means always answers to what we call disfranchisement. There were, on the contrary, different grades of ἀτιμία, according as certain specified rights of citizenship were withdrawn from a man or all without exception, and, again, according as this was done for a time or forever." Schömann, I. p. 360.

5. ἡ σπουδὴ: cf. Dem. xviii. 5, αἶμα δ' ὅμας πάντας ἀν' ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί.

§ 211. 1. εἰ καὶ μανεῖς κτλ.: see *Introd.* § 24 *fin.*

2. ἀκαιρίας: explained by lines 4 ff.



αὐτόν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεῖν. "ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀπο-  
 5 δοκιμάζω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ'  
 οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι."  
 ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκῶς μετ'  
 ἀρετῆς. ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν  
 212 ἀρετὴν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐ-  
 δεὶς φοβήσεται, μὴ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόφυχος καὶ  
 τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀριστείων ἐπανελ-

3 ff. The effect of putting into the mouth of Demosthenes words so fitting and just, and yet in such striking contrast to those which he was really going to utter, is fine, and is one of the best hits of the oration. — ἀποδοκιμάζω: *declare unfit*. Cf. Hdt. vi. 130 (Clisthenes to the suitors), μήτ' ἐνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. — τὸ κήρυγμα: it was in the proclamation that the inopportune of the gift was especially manifest. It would proclaim to the world that Athens wished to affront Alexander and honor failure. — ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκείρατο: the gloss ἐπένησε makes ἐκείρατο refer to cutting the hair as a sign of mourning. For the same word used metaphorically cf. Paus. ix. 15. 6 (inscription on a statue of Epaminondas), ἡμετέρας βουλαῖς Σπάρτη μὲν ἐκείρατο δόξαν. The reference here is to the battle of Chaeronea, or rather the policy of Demosthenes which led to it. For this he is to be crowned: the services rendered as *τειχοποιός* are only a side issue, a pretext rather than the real occasion of the crowning.

7. ἀλλ' οἶμαι: *but of course*. Cf. § 46. 9. — βεβιωκῶς μετ' ἀρετῆς: *ἀρετή*

is personified. So we say of a person that he is "conversant with virtue."

8. κάθαρμα: *scum* = *περικάθαρμα*, 1 Ep. Cor. 4. 13. Cf. Dem. xviii. 128, σοὶ δ' ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετανοεῖ; (Demosthenes prob. had the present passage in mind). — ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετὴν: the sharp contrast, with the repetition of ἀρετή, is similar to § 209. 2-5, but still more effective. ζηλοτυποῦν, used also i. 58, corresponds to *προσποιουμένοις* of Dem. xviii. 128. The interpretation, Harpocr. s.v. ζηλοτυποῦν: ἀντὶ τοῦ μισοῦν, is erroneous.

§ 212. 1. γάρ: explaining the underlying thought, i.e. Demosthenes is a κάθαρμα. The proof is that he does not, like some high-spirited Ajax, on failing of his high ideal, commit suicide. The ultimate suicide of Demosthenes (cf. Plut. Dem. 29) was prob. prompted more by fear of suffering indignity as a prisoner than by disappointed hope.

2. φοβήσεται: the mid. and pass. of this verb have grown so far away from the act, as to have virtually a deponent force with the meaning *fear*. Cf. Xen. An. ii. 6. 10.

3. διαφέρων: without τῶν ἄλλων, as in § 178. 5. § 162. 6 is different. —



θὼν οἴκαδε ἐαυτὸν διαχρήσεται· ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελᾷ  
 5 τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μιὰν κεφαλὴν ταύ-  
 την καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν οὗτος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους  
 γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε καὶ τούτων  
 μισθοὺς εἴληφε τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφό-  
 μενος, καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν  
 10 κονδύλων ἵχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἐτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε: the home is the place for cool reflection (*cf.* § 246. 8; 1. 186, τίνα δ' ἔχων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν γνώμην ἐπανεῖσιν οἴκαδε ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου) as well as for bitter afterthoughts. *Cf.* Archil. 66 (Bergk), μήτε νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο.

4. ἐαυτὸν διαχρήσεται: the Schol. sees here an allusion to the death of Midias, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μειδίας πολεμιστὴς ἦν, ὅς ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀριστειῶν ἐαυτὸν περιεῖλε ξίφει· πρὸς τοῦτο οὖν παίζει. *Cf.* § 115. Others might see an allusion to the suicide of Timarchus. *Cf.* Dem. XIX. 2, τὸν μὲν ἀνήρκε. But μεγαλόψυχος and τῶν ἀριστειῶν would seem to indicate that the case of Ajax was in his mind. So we prob. have another reminiscence from the stage. See on § 209. 3. — καταγελᾷ: mock. *Cf.* Xen. An. i. 9. 13, οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακοῦργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν.

5. πρὸς: see on § 144. 4. — φιλοτιμίαν: honor. *Cf.* § 45. 7; Dem. xx. 69, ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα ἐκείνῳ μὲν φιλοτιμία πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — μιὰν: everything about Dem. is μιὰς. *Cf.* §§ 79. 6, 166. 3. The feeling is reciprocal. *Cf.* Dem. xviii. 141.

6. ὑπεύθυνον: unjustifiable epithet, now that Demosthenes' accounts have

been audited. But each orator wishes to use both the situation at the time of the indictment and the situation at the time of the trial. See on § 159 *in.* — πάντας: in keeping with Aeschines' spirit of exaggeration. *Cf.* § 50. 7. See App.

7. μυριάκις: in Dem. xviii. 120 πολλάκις = twice; here μυριάκις = once, for the single case of § 51 *sn.* is prob. all that the speaker has in mind. It is another case of 'men in buckram.' See on § 71. 8.

9. κατακεκονδύλισται: striking phrases characterize the σφοδρότης of the speaker. *Cf.* §§ 207, 208, 209, 253.

10. κονδύλων . . . Μειδίου: see on § 52. 7. The assault occurred twenty years before. Midias had 'marked him for life.'

11. οἱ κεφαλῶν κτλ.: see App. On the two occasions mentioned, Demosthenes is represented to have endured disfigurement of head and face for the sake of money.

12. κέκτηται: equiv. to vulgar Eng. has got.

Characterization of Ctesiphon. §§ 213, 214.

Inasmuch as the warning in regard to Demosthenes' rhetorical devices has gradually run over into a picture

- 213 Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην  
 βραχεία βούλομαι εἶπειν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι, ἵνα  
 καὶ πείραν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, κἂν  
 μή τις προείπη, διαγιγνώσκειν· ὁ δ' ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ  
 5 δίκαιον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,  
 τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. περιέρχονται γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς  
 κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέ-  
 214 γοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν οὐ τὸ καθ' αὐτόν φησι  
 φοβέισθαι, ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δόξειν ιδιώτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φο-  
 βείσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης  
 5 εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρεῖν φησιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ  
 Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δε-

of his character (see on § 207. 3), the transition to this short description is natural and easy.

§ 213. 2. τὰ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι κτλ.: a felicitous omission. Aeschines was not interested in proving Ctesiphon a scoundrel, and the audience would be pleased to have something left entirely to their own discernment.

4. κοινόν: Ctesiphon concerns the speaker only as connected with Demosthenes. The only item here brought forward, that each is ashamed of his partner, is introduced simply with reference to the latter.

5. κατ' ἀμφοτέρων: modifies both κοινόν and δίκαιον ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. κατὰ with gen. has not necessarily a bad signification. Cf. i. 157, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶ τὸν ἔπαινον θεραπεῖα τινὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ποιῆσθαι; but it readily lends itself to the suggestion of blame. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 37 b, κατ' ἐμᾶντοῦ ἐρεῖν αὐτός, ὥς ἀξίός ἐμὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

§ 214. 2. ἰδιώτης: see on § 3. 10.

A plain man may hope for indulgence at the hands of the jury in the *τίμησις*.

4. τὴν: by a single art. the two nouns are bound together, forming a single notion (cf. line 5). *δωροδοκίαν* since it carries ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ had to receive a separate art., and is thereby at the same time made more prominent. In both cases the art. refers to the thing as well known. — ἐμπληξίαν: *fickleness*. Cf. ii. 164, ὠνείδισας δέ μοι καὶ πολιτείας ἐμπληξίαν, εἰ πεπρεσβευκῶς πρὸς Φίλιππον πρότερον παρεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐκείνον τοὺς Ἕλληνας. In view of passages like § 79, it seems hardly necessary with L. & S. to assign the word a different meaning here.

7 f. τοὺς κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων κτλ.: though the specifications are prob. fictitious, note the skill with which the speaker works up to the conclusion, "it were a shame to acquit a pair of knaves who have condemned each other." — κοινοί:



διέναι. τοὺς δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσῃτε.

- 215 Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται πολλά, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ  
 5 τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ. οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ ἢ εἴ τις δημη-  
 216 γορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβάς  
 5 καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γρα-

common. "You can ratify the condemnation which each has already passed on the other." κοινόν, § 213. 4, has not yet passed out of the speaker's mind.—κριταί: applied to the jury also at § 50 *fin*.

*Refutation of probable attacks of Demosthenes upon the person of the speaker.* §§ 215-229.

§ 215. 2. πυνθάνομαι λέξειν Δημοσθένην: see on § 189. 1.

4, 5. Hendiadys.—τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας: cf. Dem. xviii. 283 f.

6. δημιουργὸς λόγων: manipulator of words. Cf. § 200. 7, τεχνίτην λόγων. 1. 170.

7. δημηγορίας: none of these are preserved.

§ 216. 1. καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου κτλ.: cf. Dem. xviii. 198, 307 f.; prob. a genuine case of anticipation of Demosthenes' point. See on § 189. 1.

3. τόπος: topic.

4. μου διατριβάς: the reference is not to such attacks as Dem. xviii. 258, concerning Aeschines' menial employments in the schoolroom, but rather to such a charge as is anticipated in 1. 135, κἀνταῦθα δὴ τίνα καταδρομήν, ὡς ἀκούω, μέλλει ποιεῖσθαι ἐπερωτῶν, εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ὀχληρὸς ὢν καὶ πλείστον ἐραστὴς γεγονώς, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα εἰς ὕψους καὶ κινδύνους καθιστάς. In the present case, the anticipation fails to hit the mark.

5. κατὰ: see on § 213. 5.—ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει κτλ.: something of the sort Demosthenes does introduce in xviii., not at the beginning, however, but in §§ 197, 279-284; and even then not openly and definitely. The pres. tense is a clear trace of revision after hearing Demosthenes. See Introd. § 28.



φὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος  
 217 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν, καὶ νῆ Δί', ὥς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώ- 85  
 λυνον οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολι-  
 5 τείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιῶν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. ἐγὼ δὲ  
 οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβάς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους  
 ἑμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους ἂν εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦτ' ὃ  
 18 δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν. τὴν δ' ἐμὴν σιωπὴν,

7. ἐνδεικνύμενος: court. Cf. Dem. XIX. 113, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου παροῦσι. Cf. § 219. 3.

8. τὴν: referring to Alexander's hatred, is doing stronger possessive work than usual. G. 141, n. 2; H. 658. — πρὸς αὐτόν: for πρὸς ἐμέ in the direct statement of Demosthenes.

§ 217. The charge here referred to is the gravest one which Demosthenes brings against Aeschines. Cf. the constant iteration in XVIII., §§ 13, 22, 117, 124, 188, 191 f., 196, 222, 239, 242, 273. It is said by an ancient commentator to occur seventy times in the oration. Demosthenes himself had often been confronted with a similar charge, and had pointed out the proper answer. Cf. XIX. 25; XXIII. 187 f. Aeschines brings in a valid plea of hindrance for the most important period. Cf. §§ 223, 226. But his reply, § 221 f., that he had attacked Demosthenes all along the line is a more satisfactory defence.

2. κεφάλαιον: *sum total*. Aeschines bungles a little in stating the charge of Demosthenes. The latter does not make the contrast between τὸ κεφάλαιον and τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, but between

νῦν and τότε. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 190, 191. 'The contrast is not between denouncing offences singly and in the lump, but between denouncing pernicious counsels, or suggesting better ones, at the time of action, and making criminal charges when the time for action is past.' Simcox *ad loc.* Still the fault is mainly verbal. Had Aeschines seen the final revision of Demosthenes, he might have inserted νῦν and τότε. As it is, his answer proceeds as if the charge lay in his mind in that form. Lines 4 and 5 give that form even to the charge.

4. διαλιπὼν: *sc. χρόνον*. Cf. § 89. 3.

6. διατριβάς: with a reminiscence of διατριβάς, § 216. 4, carrying with it whatever unfavorable associations might attach to that.

9. ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν: cond. contrary to reality in past time. "I would long ago have made away with myself." Aeschines is fond of asserting the worthlessness of life without honor. Cf. II. 5, εἰ γὰρ τις πέπεισται ὥς ἐγὼ ταιούτων τι πέπραγμαί, ἀβίωτον εἶναι μοι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον νομίζω. I. 55 (rather overdone), ἂ οὗτος ἔργῳ πράττων οὐκ ἡσχύνετο, ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λόγῳ σαφῶς ἐν ὑμῖν εἰπὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐδεξάμην ζῆν.

ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρ-  
κεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ,  
ὥστε καὶ σιωπῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκα-  
5 ζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ' οἶμαι  
λαβὼν μὲν σιγᾶς, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ  
ὁπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ' ἂν βούλῃ, ἀλλ' ὅταν οἱ μισθο-  
δότηι σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνη δὲ ἀλαζονευό-  
219 μενος, ἃ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχει ψευδόμενος. ἀπηνέχθη  
γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφή, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πόλεως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με  
φῆς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον

§ 218. 2. μετριότης: Aeschines claims to be a living example of that moderation which he strenuously demands of every citizen. Cf. §§ 1, 9, 170. Doubtless there was a μετριότης imposed upon him by the limitations of his nature. For this *beschränkter Geist* to vie with Demosthenes was like 'the crow vying with the divine bird of Zeus.' He made a virtue of necessity. Without this allowance, this part of his answer would be highly unsatisfactory.

3. γάρ: explaining μετριότης.

5. ἐν τῇ φύσει: substitute for the adj. φυσικός, which in the sense of innate was not common until Aristotle.

—δαπάνης: cf. § 173. 8. —σὺ δ' οἶμαι κτλ.: that this smart retort took effect better than argument appears from the somewhat impassioned reply in Dem. XVIII. 82, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας.

8. ἀλαζονεύμενος: cf. § 99. The main idea is the imposture of a charlatan, described in Arist. Eth. N. iv. 7, but bragging is connected with such a charlatan's talk. Cf. ἀλαζονείαν, § 237.

4. ἀλαζονεῦμα, § 238. 1. Ar. Ran. 280, ἀλαζονεύεσθ', ἵνα φοβηθῇν ἐγώ. Here it marks the brazenfacedness which does not hesitate to lie when immediate conviction is sure. Cf. II. 130, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ γε νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοσὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον λογίζεσθαι, ὅπως με κακῶς λέγων εὐδοκμήσει· εἰ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν δόξει πονηρότατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι, οὐδὲ μικρὸν φροντίζει. A somewhat similar recklessness in talking for immediate effect is charged upon Aeschines in Dem. XVIII. 226, 280.

§ 219. One of the weakest parts of the oration. As if it made any difference to Demosthenes whether it was Alexander or Philip to whom Aeschines was paying court! Then, too, Aeschines chose (§ 216 *fin.*) his own form for this charge which he is now so elaborately refuting.

4. ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος: Philip was assassinated by Pausanias at Aegae, at the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus, in July or the beginning of August, 336 B.C. Cf. §§ 77, 160. Ctesiphon's proposal to crown Demosthenes was prob. made before the Great Dionysia



5 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήναι, οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πανυσανίαν  
 ἐνύπνιον ἐωρακότος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν  
 Ἦραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προει-  
 δεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; εἴ γε μὴ ταῦτόν ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ  
 20 καὶ Δημοσθένους εἶδομεν. ἐπιτιμᾶς δέ μοι εἰ μὴ συνε-  
 χῶς ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ  
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἷε λαμβάνειν μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δη-  
 μοκρατίας ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας πολιτείας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγ-  
 5 αρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ὁ δυναστεύων δημηγορεῖ,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ  
 δοκῇ. καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημείον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου,  
 τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ

(April) of the same year. See In-  
 trod. § 28.

6. ἐνύπνιον: cf. § 77, where, in-  
 stead of Hera, Zeus appears. Possibly  
 in the combination πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων  
 καὶ τὴν Ἦραν some comic allusion  
 may lie hidden.

7. προειδεικνύμην: ἀπαξ εἰρημένον  
 in Att. prose. πρό = in advance, i.e.  
 before Alexander became king.

8 f. εἴ γε μὴ . . . εἶδομεν: weak at-  
 tempt to extort a laugh from the jury,  
 a fitting close to the trivial argument  
 of the paragraph.

§ 220. 3. ἀξίωσιν: *maxim*. The  
 word has gone through much the  
 same history as ἀξίωμα. — οἷε λαμβά-  
 νειν: cf. § 237 fin. — μεταφέρων: *trans-*  
*fer*, and so *misapply*. Cf. §§ 35, 7,  
 142, 8, 193. 3. Dem. xx. 126, τὸ τῶν  
 λειτουργιῶν ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν μετα-  
 φέροντες ἐξαπατᾶν ζητοῦσιν.

4. ἐτέρας πολιτείας: oligarchy is  
 diametrically opposed to democracy.  
 Cf. Lys. i. 2, περὶ τοῦτον μόνου τοῦ ἀδι-  
 κήματος (i.e. adultery) καὶ ἐν δημοκρα-

τίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡ αὐτὴ τιμωρία.  
 Hence the euphemisms ἐτέρας ἐπιθυ-  
 μεῖν πολιτείας and ἐτέραν ἐπιθυμεῖν  
 πραγμάτων, for the longing after an  
 oligarchy. Cf. Lys. xx. 4; xxv. 11,  
 12. Isocr. xv. 317.

5. δυναστεύων: to see in this an  
 allusion to Demosthenes (cf. § 3 fin.,  
 δυναστείας) is not inconsistent with  
 the prop. interpretation of § 218. 7.  
 One might be a tyrant at Athens, and  
 yet subservient to a foreign poten-  
 tate.

7. διὰ χρόνου: = διαλείπων, line 2,  
 § 217. 4. — ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν κτλ.: *under*  
*the spur of great occasions and profit* (to  
 the state). Cf. Thuc. vi. 34. 9, ὥς ἐπὶ  
 κινδύνου πράσσειν.

9. τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν κτλ.: sinister allu-  
 sion to the restless activity in which  
 Demosthenes takes such pride, xviii.  
 236, 248. — ἐργαζομένου: equiv. to  
 περιέργου. See on § 172. 7. Pred. gen.  
 of connection. H. 732 c. σημείον  
 with the first member suggests the  
 prob. origin of this usage.



221 μισθαρνούντος. περὶ δὲ τοῦ μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζει. τὰ μὲν  
 5 γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα σοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων ἐγγεγενημένων ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου, ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον  
 222 ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἂν ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ', ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας

§ 221. 4. ἐπιλήσμονας: the orators depend much on the forgetfulness of the people. See on § 59. 2. — παραλογίζει: cf. I. 117, ἀπᾶν τινὲ παραλογισάμενος ὑμᾶς. II. 128, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν παραλογίζεται. — τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας: cf. § 107 ff.

5. τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν: cf. §§ 85 ff.

6. χρόνων ἐγγεγενημένων: time having elapsed. Cf. Thuc. I. 113. 1; IV. 111. 2; VIII. 9. 2. — ἐν οἷς: since.

7. φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου: cf. § 125. This is the vital point of the reply. See on § 217 in. Demosthenes confesses to have met with some serious check in the affair relating to Amphissa. Cf. Dem. XVIII. 143, 144.

§ 222. 1 ff. Concerning the four different forms of the trierarchy, see Böckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, Book IV. chaps. xi.-xiv. (epitomized in D'Ooge on Dem. XVIII. 102). In 340 B.C. Demosthenes was ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ (§ 222), and secured at that crisis (the reopening of the war with Philip) the passage of a law inaugurating the fourth form of the trierarchy, acc. to which each citizen contributed pro rata. That much money was offered him on that occa-

sion to persuade him to drop or modify his law he tells us himself in XVIII. 103. That he actually took some of it is insinuated by Dinarchus, who is, as usual, prob. only echoing Aeschines. Cf. Dinarch. I. 42, εἰσὶ τινες ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις γεγενημένων, ὅθ' οὗτος ἐτίθει τὸν περὶ τῶν τριηράρχων νόμον. οὐ φράσσετε τοῖς πλησίον ὅτι τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραψε καὶ μετεσκεύαζε τὸν νόμον καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπώλει ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δ' ἀποδόμενος οὐκ ἐβεβαίου; The specifications make this more piquant than Aeschines' indefinite charge. That such a law would have to meet some modifications in its passage is not unnatural. Dem. XVIII. 312 appears to assert this, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμορίων ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. All this is far from proving bribe-taking on the part of Demosthenes. See Grote, XI. c. 90, p. 270; Schäfer, II. p. 492. For his trial and acquittal on this piece of legislation, cf. XVIII. 103.

3. τριακοσίῳ: cf. Dinarch. *l.c.* Dem. XVIII. 171. The equivalent is found *ibid.* 312, ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν.

Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' 5  
 ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηρά-  
 ρους ὑφηρεημένος, πλείον τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζων ναυτικόν  
 ἢ ὃ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαι-  
 223 μονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέ-  
 φραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον  
 εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι, πολλὴν  
 μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς  
 5 φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως  
 καιρούς, αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπ-

4 ff. ἐξηλέγχθης . . . ὑφηρεημένος: if we were sure that this boast were true, it would support Böckh's view that an attack on the law after its passage is meant. No proof of fraud could well be delivered until the working of the law had been seen. But with Aeschines a charge might easily rise to the magnitude of a proof. The bill prob. raised the minimum figure for persons liable to contribute, so that the aggregate number of such persons was diminished (see Grote, XI. c. 90, p. 269); so, though everything in the bill was directed to an actual strengthening of the navy, it would be easy to point out in advance that from property now about to be exempted sixty-five triremes might be equipped. To some charge as definite as this the numeral seems to point.

7. ὃ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν: see App. For the double acc., see G. 159, n. 4; H. 725. For this victory, gained by Chabrias in 376 B.C., by which the power of Sparta, supreme in Greece since the Peloponnesian War, was thoroughly broken, see Grote, X. c. 77, pp. 346 ff.; Schäfer, I. pp. 36 ff.

§ 223. 1. αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας: hedged with recriminations, military metaphor. Cf. Thuc. iv. 8. 6, τοὺς ἑσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράζει. Common metaphor. Cf. Lycurg. 124, ἀπάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐνέφραξαν. Recrimination seems to have been more characteristic of Athenian public life than refutation. Cf. Dem. viii. 57, καὶ κατηγορῶσιν αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὧν ποιοῦσι νῦν.

2. τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας: for the same combination of κατὰ with the gen. after τιμωρία, cf. Dem. xviii. 274; xix. 272. Lycurg. 140. Dinarch. i. 47.—ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον κτλ.: for turning a defence into an attack, see on § 207. 6.

3. ἐπεξιούσι: of the prosecutor in court. Cf. Dem. xxi. 216, ὅπως ἐπέξει τῷ μιᾶρῳ. Sometimes γραφῇ or δίκη is added. Cf. ii. 93, οὐκ ἐπέξιὼν τῇ τοῦ τραύματος γραφῇ.

4. τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κτλ.: cf. § 215. 4.

6. κατεπαγγελλόμενος: cf. § 205. 5; i. 117, 173. Dem. xxxii. 11. The prep. κατὰ seems to carry the idea of a sinister or detrimental promise. On Demosthenes' hopes, see on § 100. 6.



αγγελλόμενος. οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων  
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου κατεσκευά-  
 224 σας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος; καὶ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν ἄνδρα διαστρεβλώσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρί, γράψας  
 αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, παρ' ᾧ καὶ ποτ' ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατη-  
 γάγου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες  
 5 καὶ ἔσπεισας καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες, τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας.  
 καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ᾗπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ'  
 ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρνήσω,

7. εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων: not much reliance can be placed upon Aeschines' statements of what he was going to do.

8. τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν: cf. Dem. xviii. 137, Ἀναξίνῃ τῷ κατασκόπῃ κτλ.—κατεσκευάσας: used of intrigue in § 95. 3. Cf. Dem. xxi. 103, λιποταξίου γραφὴν κατεσκευάσας κατ' ἐμοῦ. Xen. Cyr. ii. 4. 17, πρόφασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἀπίθανον.

9. Ὀλυμπιάδι: Philip's queen Olympias. The unsolved question about Anaxinus is whether, under cover of making usual purchases for Olympias, he was acting the part of a spy for Macedonia. Demosthenes (xviii. 137) assumes this, and makes complicity with him damaging proof against Aeschines. It appears from this passage that the evidence was strong enough for Demosthenes to procure the conviction of Anaxinus and to make it appear desirable to Aeschines to drop any prosecution which he had in mind. But passions were high at that time (340 B.C.), when war was just breaking out with Macedonia. A minimum of proof probably sufficed.

§ 224. 1. καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα: in

close connection with παρ' ᾧ καὶ ποτ' κτλ., resumed emphatically in τοῦτον.

2. τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρί: the words can mean nothing else than that Demosthenes worked the rack himself, but Aeschines hardly expected his hearers to believe that. Perhaps we are justified in believing that Demosthenes was present and presided at the torture.

3. κατηγάγον: lodged. The second Athenian embassy in 346 B.C., i.e. the one for securing Philip's ratification of the treaty, proceeded by way of Oreus. Cf. Dem. xix. 155. Probably Anaxinus was at that time Athenian proxenus there.

6. περὶ τούτων ἐλεγχθεὶς: it was a strong case for an appeal to the humane feelings of an Athenian audience, and Aeschines would be the man to work it up and make the most of it. The exact occasion is not stated, but it was in the ἐκκλησία (cf. δ δῆμος, line 8), and when Aeschines was not yet entirely hushed.

7. ξενοκτόνος: the crime of ξενοντία was ascribed to monsters like Busiris, Procrustes, and the Cyclops. Cf. Isocr. xi. 36. Hom. Od. ix. 271 ff. Eur. Iph. T. 53.



ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίνω ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀνεβόησεν καὶ ὅσοι  
 ξένοι περιέεστασαν. ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας  
 225 περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. ἐπιστο- 86  
 λὰς γὰρ σιγῶ ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ  
 βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀγενήτοις, ὡς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν  
 νεωτερίζειν βουλομένου. εἴτ' ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ  
 5 πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἱατρὸς ὅστις

8. ἀνεβόησεν: of the shout of an excited populace. Cf. *Ar. Ran.* 779 f., ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ἀνεβόα κρίσιν ποιεῖν ὁπότερος εἴη τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος.

9. τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας: a favorite phrase of Demosthenes. Cf. *ii.* 22, τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν περὶ πλείστου δή φησι ποιεῖσθαι. *Dem.* *xix.* 189, ποῦ δ' ἅλας; ποῦ τράπεζα; ποῦ σπονδαί; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγωδεῖ περιών, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀδικούτας τούτων ὄντας προδότες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιούντας. For similar phases of an austere patriotism that subordinated all other ties to love of country, see on §§ 52. 4 f., 77 *fin.* It should be noted that the brief allusion to this case of Anaxinus in *Dem.* *xviii.* 137 looks so little like a reply to this as to suggest the possibility of a late insertion of this passage. See *Introd.* § 28.

§ 225. 1-4. Transition, suggesting a richness of material which the speaker does not care to use.

1. ἐπιστολὰς ψευδεῖς: *Schol.*, δτι συκοφαντῶν εἴληφεν Ἀισχίνου ἐπιστολὰς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ· σιωπῶ οὖν ἐπιστολὰς ψευδεῖς. These letters are not mentioned elsewhere. They were prob. letters purporting to be written to Aeschines showing guilty collusion with Macedonia. Forgery of letters purporting to be written by Aeschines would be more dangerous.

2. κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ βα-

σάνους: besides Anaxinus *Dem.* *xviii.* 132 f. mentions Antiphon. Aeschines' silence as to this case may indicate fear of a revival of the charge of complicity in the latter's graver offence.

3. ἀγενήτοις: peculiar case of inexact expression. Strictly speaking, it is not the αἰτίαι, but the grounds of the αἰτίαι, to which the adj. would apply. In this connection the adj. signifies *groundless*. Cf. *Alciphro.* 3. 58, διαβολὰς ἀγενεῖς. — ὡς ἐμοῦ κτλ.: in the case of Antiphon, 344 B.C., Demosthenes may have been mainly working towards the attack on Aeschines which culminated in the trial on the Embassy in the following year. In the case of Anaxinus, 340 B.C., it is not unlikely that Aeschines was still the main object of attack, as he was an obstacle to the definite policy of war with Macedonia on which Demosthenes' energies were then concentrated.

4. νεωτερίζειν: this is so noble a word with which to characterize mere προδοσία, that it is strange that Demosthenes does not let loose his scorn upon it, as he does upon τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν (*xviii.* 51). — εἴτ' ἐπερωτᾶν κτλ.: attempt to parry one of the most telling comparisons of Demosthenes. Cf. *Dem.* *xviii.* 243. Prob. inserted on revision. See *Introd.* § 28.

τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλευοί,  
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς  
 226 οἰκείους αἱτ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο. σαυτὸν δ'  
 οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος ὅστις  
 τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς ἐν  
 οἷς ἦν σφάζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀποδοῖτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρο-  
 5 νοῦντας κωλύει διαβάλλων συμβουλευεῖν, ἀποδράς δ' ἐκ  
 τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις συμφοραῖς περι-  
 βαλὼν ἀξιοίη στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν  
 πεποιηκώς, πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγωνώς, ἐπερωτῶν  
 δὲ τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκεί-  
 10 νων τῶν καιρῶν ὅτ' ἐνῆν σφάζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ  
 227 ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀποκρύπτοιο δὲ τὸ πάντων τε-  
 λευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν  
 περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας

7. τελευτήσαντος: gen. abs., sc. τοῦ νοσοῦντος. G. 278, 1, n.; H. 972 a; Kr. Spr. 47, 4, 3. — τὰ ἔνατα: see on § 77. 9.

8. ἂν: with ἐγένετο, contrary to fact. The prot. is contained in ἐπιτηδεύσας.

226. 2. ἀντερωτᾶς: cf. Plato *Euthyd.* 205 b, οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὡς Σάκρατες; ἐρωτῶμενος ἀντερωτᾶς; Notice the ἀποστροφή. — τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς κτλ.: Spengel (*Demosthenes' Vertheidigung des Ktesiphon*, p. 59) regards this comparison as a most successful reply to that of Demosthenes.

3. θωπεῦσαι: vox propria of a parasite. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 563 a, διδασκαλὸς τε ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φοιτητᾷ φοβεῖται καὶ θωπεύει, φοιτηταὶ τε διδασκάλων ὀλιγωροῦσιν. — τοὺς καιροὺς: i.e. the opportunity before Chaeronea, when Philip, according to Aeschines, was anxious for peace.

Cf. § 148. Demosthenes gives no hint of any such situation.

4. τοὺς εὖ φρονούοντας: primarily the speaker himself. Cf. § 223, 2 ff.

5. κωλύει: the main point of the answer. — ἀποδράς: see on § 175 in.

7. συμφοραῖς περιβαλὼν: cf. § 114 fin.

9. συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας: the bold combination imparts a little life to the somewhat worn out συκοφαντεῖν.

§ 227. 1. ἀποκρύπτοιο δέ: the six optatives introduced by ὅστις with the uniform connective δέ produce not so much the impression of monotony as of restless haste to reach the end of a series of disgraceful items. — τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον: with the effect of a climax.

3. περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν: cf. I. 43, περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν διέτριβον. In such a combination εἶναι

τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν; ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δί-  
 5 κην μὴ δεδοκέμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς καταγέλαστον  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν  
 γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

228 Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, ὧν ἐγὼ πυνθά-  
 νομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν ἄξιον  
 καὶ μάλιστ' ἀγανακτεῖν. ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν ταῖς  
 Σειρήσιν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλείσθαι φησι τοὺς  
 5 ἀκρωμένους ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν  
 τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσικὴν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν

is more general and vague than δια-  
 τρίβειν. The point is not unskillfully  
 put. The implication is that nothing  
 but pressure of other business could  
 have kept the people from punishing  
 Demosthenes.

4. οὐκ ἀπέχρη . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτεῖς:  
 for the same turn, cf. § 147. 6 ff.  
 See on *ibid.* 10.

5. καταγέλαστον . . . ποιῶν: for  
 the dignified reply, cf. Dem. xviii.  
 85.

6. ἐνταῦθα: emphatic, marking the  
 breaking of a long course of silent  
 forbearance.—ἐνέστην: *I stepped in*,  
*i.e. interposed.* So in Polyb. and Plut.  
 of the action of the Roman tribunes.  
 Different is ἐπέστη, § 79. 5.

§ 228. 1. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίους: the solemnity of this ponder-  
 ous oath, comparable to that with  
 which Demosthenes (xviii. 141) ap-  
 proaches the gravest part of his  
 speech, the matter of Delphi, seems,  
 in view of the not very startling  
 comparison which follows, to be so  
 overdone as to border dangerously on  
 the tragi-comic. This effect is en-  
 hanced by finding in the reply no ap-  
 pearance of the so much dreaded com-  
 parison.—ὧν . . . ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἀγανακ-

τεῖν: cf. Lycurg. 25, ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶν ἐφ'  
 οἷς μέλλω λέγειν ἀγανακτῆσαι. Both  
 rels. are assimilated to the case of  
 the omitted antecs. G. 153, n. 1; H.  
 996, 2.

3 ff. ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ κτλ.: see Introd.  
 § 28. The comparison may once have  
 stood in connection with some of the  
 passages in Dem. xviii. where Aes-  
 chines' fine voice is ridiculed, e.g.  
 § 280 or § 285.

4. Σειρήσιν: cf. Hom. *Od.* xii. 165 ff.  
 Common brachylogy for τῇ φύσει τῶν  
 Σειρήνων.—καὶ γὰρ . . . οὐ κηλείσθαι  
 κτλ.: see App.

5. εὐδοκιμεῖν: see on § 96. 3.

6. καὶ δὴ καὶ: adding a specifica-  
 tion with emphasis. H. 1042 c. Com-  
 mon in Hdt. but not in the orators.  
 —τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν: the  
 combination is equiv. to δεινότης. Cf.  
 Dem. xviii. 277, κάκεινο εὐ οἷδ', ὅτι  
 τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. Even  
 there, as the speaker resumes, he uses  
 ἐμπειρία. The orators try to conceal  
 their oratorical powers from the jury,  
 but if they must confess them, they  
 prefer to represent them as simply  
 the result of long experience and  
 training. In adding καὶ τὴν φύσιν,  
 Aeschines abandons this practice.



καὶ τὴν φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν· τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰ-  
 229 σχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενον τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδειξίαι· εἰ  
 δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ μεγάλα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀγάθ' εἰρ-  
 γασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων  
 5 διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλωκότες φύσιν, ὅτι σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν  
 οὐδὲν ὦν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατή-  
 γορον ὁρᾷ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ  
 παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διώκῃκεν. ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνο-  
 μάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ  
 10 περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα κατα-

9. τῆς αἰτίας: dependent on τὸ ἔργον, which really deserves the emphatic position given to τῆς αἰτίας. The order of words is unusually and unnecessarily involved. The natural order would be, αἰσχρὸν γάρ (ἐστι) τὸν αἰτιώμενον τὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἀποδείξαι.

§ 229. 1 f. εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος: *if it were bound to be said, Demosthenes would not be the man to say it.* For this form of the apod. of a cond. contrary to reality, see GMT. 49, 2, n. 3 a; H. 897.

3. ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ: the somewhat detailed description seems to indicate that the speaker has some individual in mind. Is there a hint in § 196 in. of a general among the *συνήγοροι* of Ctesiphon? More likely Phocion, the man of deeds, who was often hard beset by tonguey demagogues, sat for the picture.

5. ἐξηλωκότες: Schol., ἀντὶ τοῦ μακαρίζοντος.

7. καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα: note the

force of καί, enhancing the contrast. For μὴ imparting to the attrib. partic. the force of a cond. rel. clause, see G. 283, 4; H. 1025 a. Emphasis is gained by the prolepsis.

8. ὡς διώκῃκεν: *that he has accomplished, sc. τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ.* The allusion may be to the claims of Demosthenes in regard to the Theban alliance. Cf. §§ 137 ff. — ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος: one of Aeschines' really good metaphors. Cf. 'Of imagination all compact.'

9. πικρῶν: Dem. xviii. is the best vindication of this epithet. For this feature construed as a merit, cf. Dion. H. de Dem. 55, τὸ μὲν γὰρ πικραίνειν τὴν διάλεκτον, ὅταν ἀπαιτῶσιν οἱ καιροί, πολλὰς δ' ἀπαιτήσεις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων, ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι τοῦ ῥήτορος.

10. περιέργων: see on § 172. 7. — ἔπειτα: *after all.* — τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα: antithesis to ὀνομάτων. To exclude Demosthenes from simplicity and facts is an ambitious undertaking.

φεύγῃ, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; οὐ γὰρ τὴν γλῶτταν ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν εἰάν τις ἀφέλῃ, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστω.

230 Θανμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ, πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέψαντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν. πότερον ὥς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' οὐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται. ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ  
5 τὸ ψήφισμα γραφίας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῶν εὐθυναὶ βίου, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρόν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνω νοῖς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων [διὰ τὸ ξενικοῦς στεφάνους ταύτην ἀπο-

11 f. οὐ γὰρ τὴν γλῶτταν κτλ.: Demades is said to have applied this comparison to the Athenians. Cf. Stob. Flor. 4. 60, Δημάδης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰκάσεν αὐλοῖς, ὧν εἰ τις ἀφέλοι τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστω. For an echo of this, cf. Liv. xxxi. 44. 9, Athenienses quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.

Epilogue. §§ 230-260.

The transition is very abrupt. See Blass, III. 2, p. 227. Schäfer (III. Beilage, p. 76) regards the whole passage §§ 221-229 as inserted by Aeschines in his revision, to meet Dem. xviii. 133-137.

§ 230. The rhetorical form is shaped as if the speaker were conducting the investigation with the jurors point by point (προκατάληψις). A fine example of the same form is Dem. viii. 17, τί ποιήσομεν ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἵγῃ; κρινοῦμεν Διοτελῆν νῆ Δία, καὶ τί τὰ πράγματα ἔσται βελτίω; ἀλλ' ἐνθενδ' ἂν βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί. ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων μὴ δυνάμεθα; ἀλλὰ μὰ

Δί' οὐχ ἤξει. καὶ τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστι τοῦτου; Very similar in form are Lys. xxx. 26. Isae. v. 45. Lyeurg. 144.

4. γνώμη: as a synonym for ψήφισμα. Cf. § 3. 3.

5. ἐπιτήδειος δοῦναι: cf. Dem. ix. 61, τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη. Similarly ἀνεπιτήδειος for ἀνάξιος, Lys. xxxi. 2.

6. εὐθυναὶ βίου: the word εὐθυναὶ was so much more commonly used in connection with official accounts (cf. §§ 9 ff.) that here it has almost the effect of a metaphor; yet cf. Plato Prot. 326 d, ὅς δ' ἂν ἐκτὸς βαίῃν τούτων, κολάζει (sc. ἡ πόλις), καὶ ὄνομα τῇ κολάσει ταύτη καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἑλλοσι πολλοῦ, ὡς εὐθυνοῦσης τῆς δίκης, εὐθυναί. For Ctesiphon's irregularities of life, cf. § 214. 6.

7 ff. εἰ πρότερον μὲν κτλ.: somewhat stately period, in which to the main contrast with μὲν . . . δέ a subord. contrast μὲν . . . δέ is attached. Otherwise the expression is like § 158. 3 ff.

9. [διὰ . . . τὴν ἡμέραν]: see App. If the reading is correct, the speaker's mind outruns his words, and contem-



- 10 δεδοσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν], ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευ-  
μάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνεσθε,  
231 αὐτὸς δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν τραγικῶν  
ποιητῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσκειν ἐν τρα-  
γωδίᾳ τὸν Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον,  
οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἀνανδρον  
5 εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄν-  
θρωπον στεφανώτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἐνδοξα  
καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνέτιθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ  
δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς φαύ-  
10 λους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν ἀφελόν-  
τας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ.

plates the great day on which it had been proposed to enact the disgraceful scene. Cf. § 153.

§ 231. 2. ἐπεισιόντων: see on § 153. 7.

3. Θερσίτην: cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 246, Θερσίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής. Somewhat more complimentary to Thersites is Soph. *Phil.* 430 f., ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερέσσομαι, γλώσση δὲ δεινοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ. In each passage he is the man of words rather than of deeds. The point of view is different in the utterance of Demades to Philip after Chaeronea, *Diod.* xvi. 87, βασιλεῦ, τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσσωπον Ἀγαμέμνωνος, αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνει πρόττων ἔργα Θερσίτου; That Aeschines takes the latter point of view rather than the former, which was admirably adapted to his purpose (cf. § 229. 9), seems due to his unwillingness to abandon the favorite συκοφάντην.

7. συρίττεσθαι: cf. § 76. 7. The word is somewhat strained. For the same appeal more simply put,

cf. Dem. xix. 229, τίς ἔσται λόγος περὶ ὑμῶν, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. This appeal to what the neighbors will say is common in Greek from Homer down. Cf. Hom. *Od.* vi. 273, τῶν ἀλείνω φῆμιν ἄδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσω μωμεύρ.—οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες: Aeschines drops into his role of laudator temporis acti. Cf. §§ 2, 154.

8. ἀνέτιθεσαν: used in good as well as bad sense. Cf. § 237. 8; Isocr. xii. 87; i. 37.

9. εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς φαύλους ἔτρεπον: "they made scape-goats of the bad orators." For the effect of τοὺς φαύλους, see on § 130. 3 f.

11. ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους: graphic. "Ctesiphon will take from the head of Demosthenes the crown of disgrace which now surrounds it, and place it on the people of Athens."—περιθεῖναι: cf. § 237 *fin.* Prop. put on a crown; here metaphorically of a crown of disgrace. Cf. Isocr. v. 78. Used also of a crown of glory, *ibid.* 149. Thuc. iv. 87 *fin.*



232 καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἔστέ, καλῶς ποιοῦν- 87  
 τες, ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφθαι,  
 ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι; καὶ τὸ πάντων  
 ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς  
 5 τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἀλίσκομένους ἀτιμῶντε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ  
 μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, ἂν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς κυ-  
 κλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιώτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κριταὶ

§ 232. 1. εὐτυχεῖς: the belief that Athens inherited good fortune and the favor of the gods was a cardinal point in the Athenian creed. See on § 130. 3. Cf. Solon 4 in. (Bergk), ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται αἰσαν καὶ μακρῶν θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων. "Will you," the speaker asks, "keep on saying that fortune favors you, but pass a vote which can only mean that fortune has ruined you, while Demosthenes has done his best to save you?" — ὡς καὶ ἔστέ: "it were impiety to deny it." Demosthenes also, xviii. 253 f., is no less emphatic on that point, but is forced to admit that Athens is now taking her share of the prevailing bad luck of all the world. — καλῶς ποιοῦντες: happily. Cf. Dem. xviii. 231, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. Kr. Spr. 58, 8, 2.

2. ψηφιεῖσθε ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφθαι: Demosthenes, xviii. 207, admits this purport of a vote praising him, but is adroit enough so to identify himself with the people that an adverse vote will be a censure to them. And yet he elsewhere includes τύχη among the things for which the σύμβουλος holds himself responsible. Cf. Dem. xviii. 189, καὶ δίδωσιν (sc. ὁ σύμβουλος) αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλο-

μένῃ. VIII. 69, ὅστις τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται, ἐν ᾗ πλεόνων ἢ τύχῃ κυρία γίγνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί, τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρείος, καὶ χρήσιμος πόλεως ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.

3. τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον: see on § 161. 6.

4. τοῖς αὐτοῖς: emphasizing the need of consistency. Cf. §§ 10. 4, 224 in.

5. γραφὰς: cognate acc. with pass. See Kr. Spr. 52, 4, 7; H. 725 c.

6. μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον: the argument is a compound *a fortiori*. "If you deprive of civic rights those convicted of speculation in single cases, and by the doubtful sentence of a court too, much more must you at least withhold reward from one whose whole public life is venal, especially when you know it."

7. ἐκ: penalties for offences committed at the Great Dionysia were imposed at an assembly held immediately after the festival. See on § 52. 7 fin. — τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς: the dithyrambic choruses. Cf. Ar. Nub. 334; Pax 829. Schol. on Ar. Av. 1408, τὸν κυκλιοῦ διδάσκαλον· ἀντὶ τοῦ διθυραμβοποιόν. Why Aeschines does not mention the dramatic judges is inexplicable. See App.

8 f. οὐ . . . χορῶν ἀλλὰ κτλ.: argument *a fortiori*.

χωρῶν καθεστηκότες ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς,  
 10 τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς  
 233 ἀξίοις ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε; ἔπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ  
 τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτὴς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῇ  
 πεποιηκώς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης  
 ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει.  
 5 ὅταν δ' ἐτέρῳ ταῦτα παραδῶ, καταλέλκεν τὴν αὐτὸς  
 αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς  
 δικάζει, συμπαρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ· ἡ δὲ χάρις πρὸς  
 ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδελφος γεγένηται.

234 Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφοτέρα  
 καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν  
 οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν οἱ  
 πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προῖσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρά,  
 5 οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ ῥητόρων τολμη-

10. τὰς δωρεάς κτλ.: cf. § 180. 6.

233. 1. ἔπειτα: like the Homeric use after a cond. Cf. Hom. *Il.* vii. 360 f., εἰ δ' ἐτέον δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις, ἐξ ἔρα δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί. In the present case the cond., really contained in the indignant question preceding, is suggested by τοιοῦτος.

4. νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ: const. with βασιλεύει. "Law and the franchise make the citizen a king."

5. παραδῶ: surrender, vox militaris. Cf. § 240. 2.

7 f. See App. — συμπαρακολουθῶν: cf. § 157. fin. The violated oath rises like a spectre that 'will not down.' Cf. Xen. *Hier.* vi. 6, ὁ φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμεὼν γίγνεται. — ἡ δὲ χάρις κτλ.: weak reinforcement of the strong point just made. Perhaps,

however, the consideration that his favoritism could not be known, and consequently must go unrewarded, was more nearly level with the eye of the average juror.

§ 234. 1. ἀμφοτέρα: see on § 161. 6. Cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 179, ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

2. εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν: modifies both the preceding inf. and the following partic.

3. οὐ σωφρονοῦντες: emphatic. "There is no political wisdom shown either in our success or in our failure." — ὅτι μὲν κτλ.: illustrating κατορθοῦν and παρακινδυνεύειν in inverse order, with a peril that has come through folly, and a blessed escape that has come by mere good luck.

4. τὰ τῆς . . . ἰσχυρά: cf. § 6. fin.

5. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ: litotes, toning down the rebuke. — φορὰ: crop. Cf. Dem. xviii. 61, παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι φορὰν προ-

ρῶν ἅμα καὶ πονηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦμεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος, ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὕς ἐφοβείτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε, 235 κατέλυσαν· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκ- 5 φορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τοὺς προσήκοντας παραγίνεσθαι. οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψεσθε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρεμένους; οὐ μεμνήσεσθ', ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, πρὶν μείζον τῶν 10 δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσαι;

δοτῶν καὶ δυσροδῶν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι.—τολμηρῶν: "the element which is luckily lacking in Demosthenes."

6 ff. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ κτλ.: "it is all good luck, for formerly the same indulgence brought disaster."

7. ἤνεγκε: yielded. Cf. φορὰ, line 5.—τὸ δημόσιον: the state. Cf. § 58 fin.

8. ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος: cf. Ar. Eq. 1111 ff., ὦ Δῆμε, εὐπαράγωγος εἰ, θαυπευόμενός τε χαίρεις κἀξαπατώμενος.

§ 235. 1. τῶν τριάκοντα: pred. part. gen.

2 f. οἱ . . . ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν: cf. Isocr. vii. 67, πεντακοσίους μὲν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, εἰς δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ φυγεῖν πλείους ἢ πεντακισχιλίους ἠνάγκασαν. Lys. xii. 17, Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κύνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι' ἣντινα ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖσθαι. For a general review of the excesses

of the Thirty Tyrants, see Grote, VIII. c. 65, pp. 30 ff.

3. πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι: sc. τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας. Cf. Lys. l.c.

4 f. οὐδ' ἐπὶ . . . παραγίνεσθαι: cf. Lys. xii. 87, διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένην καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ δεῖνόν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν.—ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς: see on § 77. 9.

6 ff. The series of questions is rendered more passionate by asyndeton. Cf. § 253. 5. Similar in general effect is § 130.

7. ἀποπέμψεσθαι: perhaps there is a tinge of the sacrificial meaning, drive away with imprecations. Cf. Isocr. v. 117, τοὺς δ' οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οὐτ' ἐν θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους (δρῶ). Eur. Hec. 69 ff., τί ποτ' αἶρωμαι ἔννυχος οὕτω, δείμασι, φάσμασιν; ὦ πότνια χθών, μελανοκτερύγων μᾶτερ ἀνείρων, ἀποπέμπομαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν.

8 ff. ὅτι οὐδεὶς . . . ἰσχύσαι: the conspicuous crime of the Thirty



- 236 Ἰδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἀναλογισαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανοῦσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέξεις, ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς ἐτάφρυνε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργάσθαι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρῶσαντα χρὴ τὰ τεῖχη οὐδὲ τοὺς τάφους ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος 237 αἴτιον γεγεννημένον τῇ πόλει. εἰ δὲ ἤξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον

Tyrants, acc. to Aeschines, was the abolition of the γραφαὶ παραδύμων. See on § 191. 4. The insinuation that it was one of the *steps toward* their acquiring power involves a *hysteron proteron*. It was an act indicating the possession of power. The epiphonema consisting of a eulogy on trial by jury as the basis of democracy allowed here an effective pause.

§ 236. 2. ἀναλογισαίμην: would reckon up. Cf. Plato Rep. 618 e, ἀναλογιζόμενον πάντα τὰ νῦν δὴ βηθέντα. The speaker institutes a duel for the pleasure of the jury as spectators.—διὰ ποίας κτλ.: Dem. xviii. 297, εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιώ τιμᾶσθαι; adroitly changes στεφανοῦσθαι to τιμᾶσθαι, and introduces an answer pitched in almost the highest key of the great oration.

5. τὰς τάφρους κτλ.: how far above ditches the answer of Demosthenes soars! Cf. Dem. xviii. 299, καὶ τὴν ταφρεῖαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἐμῶν πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθους ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμῶν φρονῶ.

6. τοῦ ἐξεργάσθαι: gen. after the comp. μείζω.—τὸ γεγενῆσθαι: subj. of ἔχει.

8. τοὺς τάφους ἀνελόντα: in the haste to fortify Athens after the battle of Chæronea, the tombstones afforded most convenient material. Cf. Lycurg. 44, κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχετο ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, ὅτε ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας. The situation was analogous to that when Themistocles, under the jealous eye of Sparta, was urging on the fortification of Athens after the Persian War. Cf. Thuc. i. 90. 3, τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιρουντας πάντα. Ibid. 93. 1, πολλοὶ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν.

§ 237. 1. τὸ δεύτερον μέρος: Ctesiphon's bill mentioned first the particular service of Demosthenes (cf. § 236. 4 f.), and then his general excellence. From § 49. 5 ff. we should get no idea that the former was mentioned in the bill.

μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν, ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν  
 5 καὶ τὸν κόμπου τοῦ ψηφίσματος αἶψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπιδείξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. τὰς μὲν περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθέней, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾷς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας  
 10 καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, λανθάνειν οἶει ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθέней  
 238 περιτιθεῖς. ἡλικὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβρι-

4. ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν κτλ.: cf. § 101. 4. Similarly περιελόντες, § 136. 1, of stripping off a disguise. This ἀφελῆν implies a προσθεῖναι on the part of Ctesiphon. Cf. Thuc. v. 23. 6, προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελῆν περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας.

5. ἐπιδείξον: asyndeton. See on § 235. 6.

6 f. Ἀμφισσέας καὶ Εὐβοέας: for these topics, cf. §§ 114, 125 (Ἀμφισσέας), 85-105 (Εὐβοέας).

7 ff. ὅταν δὲ τῆς κτλ.: same treatment of the same subject as in §§ 137 ff.

8. ἀνατιθῆς: see on § 231. 8.

9. ἀγνοοῦντας: uninformed; largely those too young to remember the circumstances; prop. contrast to εἰδότας.

10. αἰσθανομένους: stronger than εἰδότας, signifying men of real insight. Cf. Thuc. i. 71. 5, οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν

δρῶντων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. v. 26. 5. Xen. Mem. iv. 1. 1.

11. δόξαν τούτων: demagogic appeal.

12. λανθάνειν οἶει: cf. § 220. 3.

13. περιτιθεῖς: cf. § 231 fin. This hints at a surreptitious crowning of Demosthenes with a far more glorious crown than the one now proposed.

§ 238. 4. κατέπεμψε: from the interior of Asia, down to the sea. Cf. § 239. 3. So ἀνάβασις is the common designation of expeditions into the interior of Asia. When the demand here referred to was made it is impossible to tell, unless it be a reference to the somewhat remote case before Chaeronea. See Schäfer, II. pp. 461 ff. Cf. Dem. ix. 71, ἐκπέμψωμεν πρέσβεις (v.l. πανταχοῦ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω), ἵνα ἂν μὲν πέλοιστε, κοιωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλω-



6 στικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδεύτως διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν, 88  
 "ἐγώ," φησὶν, "ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ  
 239 γὰρ λήψεσθε." οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ  
 τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτοῦντων Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ  
 δήμῳ, ὃς σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ  
 5 χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμάχων. τὸ δὲ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐξεργάσατο. σὺ  
 δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης

μάτων. The Schol. supports this view, ἦτησαν χρυσίον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, μετὰ τὴν τῆς εἰρήνης κατάλυσιν πρεσβεῖαν πέμψαντες. οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κτλ., line 3, is no insuperable objection to this view. Cf. on the contrary, πολλῷ χρόνῳ, § 129. 10, of a few days.

6. ἀπαιδεύτως: see on § 117. 5, and, in connection with βάρβαρον, on § 208. 6.

7 f. Asyndeton augments the dictatorial insolence. Such answers to similar requests for money were prob. freq. enough to be proverbial at Athens. Cf. Ar. Achar. 104, οὐ λῆψι χρυσὸν, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰασσαῦ. — φησὶν: see on § 14. 4.

§ 239. 1. τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων κινδύνων: see on § 132. 9.

3. αὐτὸς ἐκὼν: added to οὐκ αἰτοῦντων Ἀθηναίων because of the speaker's desire to emphasize the king's change of heart. — τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ: this was prob. at the first gathering of the storm which was prevented from breaking upon the king at once by the Theban revolt. It seems to have been offered directly and publicly to the people. Refused by them out of timidity, it was prob. taken by Demosthenes for judicious

distribution. Plut. Dem. 20, represents it as sent directly to him, adding that Alexander discovered letters at Sardis, exposing the whole transaction. Aeschines does not here assert Demosthenes' appropriation of the whole amount, but only of seventy talents. Cf. §§ 156, 173.

4. σωφρονῶν: fine construction of the motives of the Athenians. — ὁ δὲ κομίζων κτλ.: cf. § 141 in. In both cases the use of the masc. personifies: "The bringer of the money was not Demosthenes, but the emergency, etc."

6. ἐξεργάσατο: cf. § 236. 6, where the word has its primary signification of finishing a piece of handiwork. For the same transfer as here, cf. Dem. xviii. 140 (of Aeschines' mischievous interference at Delphi) ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο τοιοῦτον ὃ πάσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος. — σὺ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα κτλ.: "you annoy us with your everlasting prating about that most ill-fated alliance with Thebes, but we hear very little about the money of which you afterwards defrauded Thebes to its ruin." — σὺ: hitherto (since § 236 in.) Ctesiphon has been addressed. — προλαβών: the



συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς αἰεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπᾶς ἅ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου 240 ἀπεστέρηκας. οὐ δὲ ἔνδειαν χρημάτων ἔνεκα μὲν πέντε τάλαντων οἱ ξένοι τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδοσαν; διὰ δέκα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν ἢ πρᾶξις οὐ γένηται; 5 σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ἡμῶν.

prep. implies guilty haste. Cf. § 142, 4. Perhaps also that Demosthenes 'prevented' the Thebans in the funds destined for them. — τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου: double const. See on § 234. 2.

§ 240. 1. ἔνεκα: preceding its case. Cf. II. 150, ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου τῆς πόλεως.

2. οἱ ξένοι: the Macedonian garrison who held the Cadmea (τὴν ἄκραν). Perhaps hopes were entertained that they would surrender; possibly some negotiations to that effect were entered into. See Grote, XI. c. 91, p. 358. Schäfer (III. p. 110, note) says of Aeschines' present statement, 'Das sind drei Lügen in einem Atem.' — οὐ παρέδοσαν: fail to surrender. The second οὐ is subord. to the first, which is interr. See on § 132. 8.

3. Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων: Dinarch. I. 18 ff. describes this case in detail as follows: The Arcadians had rejected an embassy of Antipater and received one from the Thebans, thereby showing willingness to help them. They marched out, to be sure, as auxiliaries of Alexander (μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀκολουθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν). Their leader Astylus was ready to lead his troops over to the Thebans for ten talents. Demosthenes hesitated to pay the

required sum. The Arcadians' price was readily paid by Macedonian emissaries, and they were lost to the cause. Dinarchus appeals freq. in the course of his narrative to Stratocles as a voucher for the details of the affair. The truth prob. was that the Arcadians were divided as to the proper course to take, when the sudden appearance of Alexander removed their doubt. Cf. Arr. An. i. 10. 1.

4. οὐ γένηται: has come to naught. The change from the aor. is not easily accounted for. The whole affair was five years past.

6. χορηγεῖς: minister to. Cf. I. 54, εἰ λήψεται χορηγὸν τῇ βδελυρίᾳ τῇ ἰαντοῦ. II. 79, βητῶρων χορηγὸν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν δαπαναῖς τὸν πόλεμον ποιουμένων. Dem. ix. 60, χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φιλίππον. XIX. 216, Φιλίππῳ χορηγῶ χρώμενος. The idea of lavish outlay was of course inseparable from the word. See on § 173. 7. — τὸ κεφάλαιον: for this favorite word with Aeschines, cf. §§ 104 *fin.*, 126, 173. For the appos. to the sent., cf. §§ 161, 169, 173, 227, 232, 245. With this the speaker turns from Demosthenes to the jury in a confidential way (ἡμῶν), closing the topic with an epiphonema that it would be difficult to

241 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. εἰ γὰρ τόλμῃσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθαμεν τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. ὅπου γὰρ  
 5 τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνησμεν ἔργα, τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους ἔαν λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

242 Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἔαν σωφρονῇς, ἀποστήσει, ποιήσει δέ, ὡς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία. οὐ γὰρ δὴ που τοῦτό γε σκήψει, ὥς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπὸν σοι συμβαίνει, εἰ  
 5 πρῶν μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμενας πρεσβευτῆς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν

improve. Dem. xviii. 312 serves in a measure as a counterthrust to this matter of refusing to pay out the king's money.

241. The transition is here marked by Blass as abrupt. See on § 230 in. Perhaps in this nondescript section, as much as anywhere, we see the failure of the epilogue to conform to the principles of the highest art.

1. ἀπαιδευσίαν: cf. §§ 117, 154, 208, 260. See on § 117. 5.

2. Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν: cf. § 202.

3. βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται: because it is adding insult to injury. For a similar exaggeration, cf. § 157. 7.

4. ff. ὅπου . . . μὲν . . . ὅταν δέ κτλ.: the apodosis, being emphatically opposed to the protasis, is introduced by δέ. GMT. 57. The use of both μὲν and δέ makes the co-ordination and contrast very clear. The sent. is, however, complicated by the addi-

tion of a subord. hypothetical clause to the main clause of both protasis and apodosis. Otherwise § 233. 3 ff., if ὅπου μὲν were inserted before ἐν, would be exactly parallel. The form of the argument is similar to that of § 158. 3.

6. τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους κτλ.: Demosthenes is fully alive to this propensity in human nature, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἀχθεσθαι, and meets it as his chief danger, almost with his opening words. Cf. Dem. xviii. 3. How futile this effort of Aeschines to dam up that flood of magnificent egotism!

8. καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων: see on § 118. 4. Cf. § 166. 4.

§ 242. 5. Κλεοπάτραν: Alexander's sister, at whose wedding Philip was assassinated. See on § 219. 4. Her husband Alexander of Epirus, who was also her uncle, was killed in a campaign against the Bruttii in aid of the Tarentines, in the spring of 330 B.C. See Grote, XII. c. 97 in., pp. 217 f. Schäfer, III. pp. 180 ff. Ctesiphon was



τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλείῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι. ἔπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν ἄλλοτριαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ 243 μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσει; ἢ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὃν γέγραφας στεφανοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἂν μὴ τις συνείπῃ; ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἐγίγνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἴφικράτην καὶ Τι- 5 μόθεον, καὶ πυθοῦ διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἅμα ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι Χαβρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν, Ἴφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνέιλε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ

delegated to express to the widow the condolence of the Athenians, only two or three months before the date of the present trial. See on § 132. 9. Thus *πρῶτον* is amply justified.

6. *συναχθεσόμενος*: cf. Isocr. vi. 103, *τοῖς παθοῦσι συνηχθεῖσθαι*.

8. *δύνασθαι*: the omission of *λέγειν* adds piquancy.

9. *παραμυθεῖσθαι*: related in meaning to *συναχθεσόμενος* as *console* to *condole*.

10. *μισθοῦ*: as if the whole atmosphere about Demosthenes were so infected with venality that no other motive finds place in it.

§ 243. 2. *οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι*: for *οἷος* with inf. instead of the more usual *ᾧστε*, cf. Dem. ii. 19, *τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, οἷους μεθυσθέντας ἀρχεῖσθαι*. GMT. 93, 1, n. 1; H. 1000; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 5. *οἷος τε* is more common.

3. *ἂν μὴ τις συνείπῃ*: *scilicet αὐτῷ*. Thus even the speech of Ctesiphon is made to appear superfluous.

7. *Χαβρία κτλ.*: see on § 222 *fin.* — *Ἴφικράτει κτλ.*: this deed, 392 B.C., usually joined with the other two

here mentioned, is a common theme with the orators. Cf. Dem. iv. 23; xiii. 22; xxiii. 198. Dinarch. i. 75. For a narrative of the affair, cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 11-17. For *ἀνέιλε* used in Dinarch. *l.c.* *κατέκοψε* is the usual word, indicating the alleged utter extinction of this body of Spartan troops. See App. The *μόρα* was a unit of the Spartan army-organization comparable to our 'regiment.' After the close of the Peloponnesian War the whole force of Spartan hoplites was divided into six *μόραι*. The number of men included in a *μόρα* appears to have been variable, and is given by different authorities at from 500 to 1,000. See A. Bauer in Müller's *Handbuch der Alt.* IV. pp. 247 f. Gilbert, *Gr. Alt.* II. pp. 75 f.

8. *Τιμοθέῳ διὰ τὸν περίπλου*: the first ambitious use which the Athenians made of the victory at Naxos. Timotheus, the son of Conon, was chosen to inaugurate this new maritime supremacy, 376 B.C. For a narrative of this event, cf. Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 63 ff.



διὰ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις, ὧν  
 10 ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα πέπρακται.  
 244 Δημοσθένης δὲ διὰ τί; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν  
 τάξιν ἔλιπε. καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἀτιμάσετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτή-  
 5 σαντας; οὓς νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας εἰ οὗτος στε-  
 φανωθήσεται. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 εἰ τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ  
 ἄφωνα καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐάν τῳ ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερ-  
 245 τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δι-

The three men here named are the three great Athenian generals of the age between the Peloponnesian War and the period of Demosthenes. With the name of each is coupled the event forming his principal claim to distinction.

9. ἄλλοις ὧν ἐκάστῳ κτλ.: inconsequent. Regular would be ἄλλοις διὰ πολλὰ . . . ἔργα ἃ ἐκάστῳ πέπρακται.

§ 244. 1. Δημοσθένης δὲ διὰ τί: cf. § 33. 6. Reductio ad absurdum.

4. οὓς νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας: diatyposis. Cf. §§ 153, 157, 257. See on § 153 *in*. For the word σχετλιάζειν, of indignant protest, cf. §§ 146, 258; II. 154.

5. ἂν εἴη δεινόν, κτλ.: for this apod. with its two prots. of different forms, cf. Plato *Apol.* 28 e, ἐγὼ δεινὰ ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος, εἰ τότε μὲν ἔμεναν, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τάττοντος, λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν. Regularity of form would here require τιμήσαυτε; but this is sacrificed to vividness. See GMT. 54, 1 b. The two pres. general conds. introduced by ἐάν, subord. to the main cond., εἰ . . . ὑπερορίζομεν . . . καὶ . . .

θάπτομεν, complicate the sent. somewhat. See on §§ 158. 3, 241. 4.

6. ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ σίδηρον: for the custom here referred to, cf. Paus. i. 28. 10, vi. 11. 6. Dem. xxiii. 76. Plato *Legg.* 873 e. Poll. viii. 120, φυλοβασιλεῖς, οὓς ἴδει τὸ ἐμπεσόν ἀψυχὸν ὑπερορίσαι. This was a natural proceeding with a people who saw personality in everything.

8. τὴν χεῖρα . . . θάπτομεν: suicide, when not justified by circumstances, required in the eyes of the Greeks purification, like any other violent death, and burial apart in unhallowed ground. Cf. Plat. *Theat.* 22. Plato *Legg.* 873 d. Arist., *Eth. N.* v. 11. 1-3, seems to indicate an ethical consideration in this treatment. The state, as the injured party, takes cognizance of the crime. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 8. 5, mentions the custom here referred to, giving the sentimental reason that the hand was regarded as alien to the body (καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλότριον, οὕτω καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ σώματος). In § 212 suicide is spoken of as a prerogative of the μεγαλόψυχος.

μοσθένην δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν πανυστάτην ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς τιμῆσετε. οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευταῖοι σταντες, ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίνονται ὀρώντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι, πρὸς ὁποῖον χρὴ παράδειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαῖστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὐδ' ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον 80 παιδεύει τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια. κη-

§ 245. 3. πανυστάτην: poetic, equiv. to fatal. Cf. Soph. Trach. 874, βέβηκε Δράκεια τὴν πανυστάτην ὁδῶν ἀπασῶν. Ant. 807. Eur. Alc. 610. — προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας: for the same charge, cf. §§ 131 in., 152 in.

5. ἀθυμότεροι δὲ κτλ.: for a similar statement, cf. § 180 fin.

6. μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν: cf. § 152 fin. That any one should be willing to propose the crown is taken as a sign that memory of the dead, which should be ἀθάνατος, is itself dying. Cf. § 182. 8.

7. τὸ μέγιστον: see on § 240. 6. — ἐπερωτῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι κτλ.: for Aeschines' apparent anxiety about the effect of judicial sentences upon the rising generation, cf. i. 186, τὸ ἐρέσθαι τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις τοὺς ἐαυτῶν οἰκείους ὅπως τὸ πᾶγμα κέκριται πρόχειρον. τί οὖν δὴ λέξετε, ὅταν οἱ ὑμέτεροι παῖδες ὑμᾶς ἔρωται εἰ κατεδικάσατε ἢ ἀπεψηφίσασθε;

246. 2. παλαῖστραι, διδασκαλεῖα, μουσικὴ: reference to the three branches of Greek education, γυμναστική, γράμματα, μουσική. The latter is not here to be taken in its broad sense of all mental training, contrasted with bodily (cf. Plato Rep.

376 e, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ σώμασι γυμναστική, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ μουσική). It rather divides the mental sphere with γράμματα (cf. Arist. Pol. viii. 3), though it always includes more than the modern term music, notably the rhythmic recitation of the poets, which made so large an element in the Greek boy's education. Cf. Ar. Nub. 965 ff. Under γράμματα the reading and committing to memory of the poets is included. See Becker, Charicles, pp. 231 ff. Mahaffy, Greek Education, p. 46. The locus classicus on the subject is Plato Prot. 326.

3. ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια: with this verdict on public life as an educating influence, cf. Lycurg. io, εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοῦτον νῦν κολάσετε κατεψηφισμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν' ἀρετὴν προτρέψετε. δύο γὰρ ἐσσι τὰ παιδεύοντα τοὺς νέους, ἢ τε τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμωρία καὶ ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διδομένη δωρεά. Possibly the last words of the quot. may contain a friendly allusion to Demosthenes in the great suit then pending (cf. πρῆξιν § 252 fin.). — κηρύττεται τις κτλ.: the balancing of clauses is like that in Dem. xviii. 198.



ρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα  
 5 ἄνθρωπος ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ· ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος ταύτ'  
 ἰδὼν διέφθαρται. δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνο-  
 βοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησιφῶν· οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαιδεύνται.  
 κἀναντία τις ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελ-  
 θὼν οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν· ὁ δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πεί-  
 10 θεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νουθετεῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη δικαίως ὀνομάζε-  
 247 ται. ὥς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωροῦμε-  
 νοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν  
 μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί  
 ἐδικάζετε. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη  
 5 δόξει ἢ πόλις εἶναι, ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος·  
 ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνους ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ τῇ Δημο-  
 248 σθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις τὴν  
 τοιαύτην αἰσχύνῃ ἐκφύγοι; ἔαν τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνον-  
 τας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους

5. ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ: *living an abandoned life*. Cf. II. 151, *τις αὐτὸν εἶδε πάποτε ἀσχημονήσαντα ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἢ νύκτωρ*;

6. πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβoscός: cf. § 214. 6.

9. παιδεύει: of the home-training which the schoolmaster never sup-  
 planted. Pres. of attempted action. GMT. 10, 1, n. 2; H. 825.

10. νουθετεῖν ἐνοχλεῖν: the *ὁμοιστέ-  
 λευτον* helps to enforce the identity  
 of the two things. Education is vex-  
 ation would nearly reproduce the  
 effect.

§ 247. 2. ἀπολογισμὸν: *justifica-  
 tion*, i.e. a *λογισμός* (cf. § 59. 6) that  
 will clear you. — τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ πα-  
 ροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν: "in a case of this  
 magnitude even the absent citizens  
 have rights that are at this moment  
 entrusted to the jurors' hands, and

they will one day ask how that trust  
 was kept." Cf. § 8. 2 ff.

7. προσεικασθῆναι: possibly there  
 lurks in this a confession of the suspi-  
 cion that Demosthenes was the great  
 man of the generation, by whom the  
 generation might in future times be  
 judged. It would have been well for  
 the Athenians of that day if they  
 had been able to stand that test.

§ 248. 2. προκαταλαμβάνοντας: *pre-occupying*, i.e. *monopolizing*. See on  
 § 9. 9.

3. κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομά-  
 των: the reference is to Demosthenes  
 and his friends monopolizing such a  
 title as *δημοστικοί* (cf. §§ 168 ff.,  
 207 *fin.*), or to the words *ἀγαθός*, *τὰ  
 ἄριστα πράττων*, *ἀνδραγαθία*, etc., so  
 often asserted in the course of the  
 trial to belong to Demosthenes. For  
 the idea that the people are easily



ὄντας τοῖς ἡθεσι, φυλάξῃσθε. ἡ γὰρ εὖνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 5 δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ'  
 ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς  
 249 ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες. ὅταν οὖν λάβῃτε ῥήτορα στε-  
 φάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν  
 κελεύετε τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτη-  
 μάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων καὶ  
 5 τρόπον σώφρονα. ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βε-  
 βαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπι-

cajoled with mere names, cf. Dem. xxiv. 156, εὔρε τοῦτο δ' πεποίηκε, νόμῳ τοὺς νόμους καταλῦσαι, ἵνα τὰδικήματ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας ὄνομ' ἔχῃ. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὀνόματος φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι ταύτην ἂν μάλιστα προσίεσθε, κατεῖ-  
 δειν.

5. κεῖται ἐν μέσῳ: of a prize put up before the contestants to spur their zeal. For the same metaphorical use as here, cf. Dem. iv. 5, εἶδεν τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ. Xen. An. iii. 1. 21, ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἦδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἄθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ᾖσιν. "It remains to be proved by acts who has the best claim to these noble titles, and it will probably turn out that those who are in such haste to monopolize them (προκαταλαμβάνοντες) are simply fleeing to them (καταφεύγοντες) to hide in them their utter lack of desert." The subjs., εὖνοια and δημοκρατίας ὄνομα, simply repeat κοινὰ and φιλόφρονα in inverted order.

6. ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ: cf. Xen. An. iii. 1. 42, τοῦτους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἄν-  
 τίοι οὐ δέχονται. For the attenuated meaning of ὥς, cf. Kr. Spr. 69, 63, 5.

7. ἀπέχοντες: intr. Cf. i. 17. Plato Parm. 145 b, τὸ μέσον ἴσον τῶν ἐσχά-  
 των ἀπέχει.

§ 249. 1. λάβῃτε: catch.

2. ἐπανάγειν: "bring back as to a base of operations." Cf. § 57 fin. Xen. Mem. iv. 6. 13, εἰ τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀντι-  
 λέγοι μηδὲν ἔχων σαφὲς λέγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπανήγεν ἂν πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁδὲ πως. A worthy life and an honorable character are here postulated as indispensable qualities in a speaker. It is a noble utterance, but if we believe half that the orators say of one another, no speakers of the time except Lysurgus and Phocion had any such claim to a hearing.

3. βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων: one who sold or rented a piece of property was often called upon to declare publicly that he had taken the responsibility for the sale or renting. This was called βεβαίωσις. See Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc., pp. 720 ff. Aeschines' idea is that one should scrutinize claims to public praise as rigidly as claims to property.

6. αὐτῷ: resumes the indef. ὅτῳ with emphasis and suggests a definite individual lurking in the mind of the speaker. — δημοκρατίας ἦδη διαφεν-  
 γούσης ὑμᾶς: cf. § 5 fin.

250 μελήθητε ἤδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς. ἡ οὐ δεινόν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παροράται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρω-  
 5 τευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται πρᾶ-  
 τειν ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀλλήλοις παραναγιγνώσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται οἱ  
 10 μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς  
 251 πόλεως ὄντες. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβε-  
 βηκότων ὥσπερ παραγεγρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἐαλωκῶς

§ 250. 2. βουλευτήριον: more graphic than βουλή. Cf. § 246. 2.—παροράται: cf. § 172. 6, παρίδων τοὺς νόμους. Both the senate and the assembly are treated with cool contempt. For the sing. with two subjs., see G. 135, 3, n. 1; H. 607.

4. τῶν τυχόντων: ordinary people. Cf. II. 5, μὴ μόνον εἰς ἐλεύθερον σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ τυχόν. Dem. xviii. 180, ἦρωα τὸν τυχόντα. Isochr. x. 21, εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πράξας εἰς ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν πολὺ διενεγκόντων.—πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ: Demosthenes had been in correspondence not only with Agis (see on § 165. 4), but also with Memnon and the Persian satraps.

6. ἡ ζημία θάνατος: cf. Plato Prot. 325 b, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ ζημία θάνατος, sc. ἡ ἐκ τῶν νόμων.—οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται . . . ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦσιν: so that the case needs no discussion. Cf. § 175 in. For a similar redundancy, cf. Ev. Joh. i. 20, καὶ ἀμαλόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ἀμαλόγησεν.

7. τὰς ἐπιστολάς παραναγιγνώσκουσιν: cf. § 164. 6. The pl. concedes

that others besides Demosthenes were carrying on this illegal correspondence with foreign potentates.

8. οἱ μὲν: after the verb, as if preparing the way for οἱ δ' ἑαυτοῖς δωρεὰς δίδοναι, which is rejected for a more independent const., ἕτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι, co-ord. with παρακελεύονται. See on § 10. 8.

§ 251. 2. παραγεγρακῶς: cited Poll. ii. 16, as one of the κωμικὰ σκώματα. One cannot help thinking of the figure of Demus in Ar. Eq., which prob. lay in the mind of the speaker.—παρανοίας ἐαλωκῶς: cf. § 156. 3. Suits against old men supposed to be in their dotage were doubtless often brought at Athens by impatient heirs; but the famous case of Sophocles (Vit. Anon., Westermann, lines 55 ff.) lying presumably in the sphere of Aeschines' traditions, may have suggested this comparison. These strong phrases suggest a later addition here. παρησία was, to be sure, not excluded from the courts, as, according to the complaint of Demosthenes (ix. 3), it had been from the ἐκκλησία. But in



αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦνομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν  
 δ' ἔργων ἐτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. ἔπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ  
 5 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν  
 52 ἑράνων, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. ὅτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκεί-  
 θεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. ἐγένετό τις, ἄχθομαι δὲ πολ-  
 λάκις μεμνημένος, ἀτυχία τῇ πόλει. ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ιδιώ-  
 της ἐκπλεῖν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς προδότης  
 5 τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βου-

addressing a jury even Demosthenes often apologizes for saying something severe of the δῆμος. Cf. Dem. xix. 227, ἐγὼ δὲ φράσω, ἀξιῶ δὲ μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι τάληθῃ. That Aeschines, who is usually more subservient to the jury, should score them, as a portion of the δῆμος, without an apology is striking. But after defeat and in exile he might naturally do it.

4. παρακεχώρηκεν: cf. § 5 fin.

5. ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἑράνων: the ἑρανος was a very modest repast. Cf. Hom. Od. i. 276, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἑρανος τάδε γ' ἐστὶ (contrasted with εἰλαπίνῃ, banquet). Its characteristic feature was that it was supplied by contributions, like our picnic. Cf. ἑρανίζων, § 45. 6.

6. τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι: after distributing the leavings among yourselves. Blass (III. 2. p. 196) censures this phrase as obscure, seeing in it a possible reference to the distribution of the Theoric fund. But in this connection such a reference seems impossible. The meaning can only be that the orators, like young and pushing heirs taking the inheritance, have arrogated to themselves all the power, while the δῆμος is left to content itself with names and forms, as the dispossessed dotards enjoy the crumbs given them.

§ 252. 1. ἐκείθεν: from this point on. See on § 163 in.

2. τῆς ἀτυχίας: the reference to Chaeronea is euphemistic in its indefiniteness. — ἄχθομαι δὲ πολλάκις κτλ.: serves not only as a προδιόρθωσις (cf. Lys. xiii. 43, ἀνιώμαι ὑπομνήσκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, ἀνάγκη δ' ἐστίν), but also as a reproach of the guilty cause of the disaster. Cf. Lycurg. 16, δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι μου, καὶ μὴ ἄχθεσθαι ἐὰν ἄρξωμαι ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ πόλει τότε συμβάντων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αἰτίοις ὀργίσεσθαι καὶ δι' οὓς ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν μεμνήσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

3. ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης: this is generally understood to be Autolycus mentioned in Lycurg. 52. But he was sentenced not by the Areopagus, but by an ordinary Heliastic court. Cf. ibid., ὑμεῖς κατεψηφίσασθε. In the same connection Lycurgus speaks of the Areopagus as having condemned many men to death after Chaeronea, on the charge of cowardice: and a shudder runs through his audience at the mention of this severity. Furthermore, Autolycus is only charged with having conveyed away his wife and children, while it is recorded to his credit that he himself stayed and faced the peril like a man (μείναντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις).



λῆς θανάτῳ ἐξημιώθη. ἕτερος δ' ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον,  
 ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάνδρως ἤνεγκε, πρῶην μὲν ποτε εἰσηγ-  
 253 γέλθῃ· εἰ δὲ μία ψῆφος μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἄν. ἀντι-  
 θῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον. ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων  
 τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν,  
 ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ  
 5 κηρύττεσθαι οἷεται δεῖν. οὐκ ἀποπέμψεσθε τὸν ἀνθρω-  
 πον ὡς κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοράν; ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς  
 ληστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας  
 254 πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιμνήσθητε ἐν

6. ἕτερος: Leocrates, whom Lycurgus had tried to convict only a few months before. The extant speech of Lycurgus is a text-book of Athenian patriotism.

7. τὸν φόβον: i.e. the fear of Philip's attack on Athens.—πρῶην: cf. § 242. 5.—εἰσηγγέλθῃ: see on § 3. 9. It is to be remarked, however, that after the people had investigated a case referred to them, they might, and this was the usual procedure, refer it to a Heliastic court for decision. See Schömann, I. p. 395. Busolt in Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, IV. p. 167. Such was the procedure in this case. Lycurgus' oration was addressed to a jury.

8. εἰ δὲ μία ψῆφος μετέπεσεν: it must have been a tie vote. See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.*, p. 938.—ὑπερώριστο: cf. §§ 131. *fin.*, 244 *fin.* Here the word seems to mean more than mere banishment. See on § 131 *fin.* The speaker seems to imply, what was of course far from being the case, that in the event of conviction the penalty of a traitor's death proposed by Lycurgus would certainly have been adopted by the jury. Cf. Hyperid. *Lyc.* 16, κινδυνεύοντι οὐ

μόνον περὶ θανάτου (ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι τοῖς ὁρθῶς λογιζομένοις), ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐξορισθῆναι καὶ ἀποθανόντα μηδὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ταφῆναι. Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 22.

§ 253. 2. ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ: opp. to ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης above. Aeschines represents the ῥήτορες as having arrogated to themselves all the power in the state. Cf. §§ 3, 4.

3. ἔλιπε τὴν τάξιν: see on § 175 *in.*

4. ἀπέδρα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: cf. § 159.

4.

5. ἀποπέμψεσθε: see on § 235. 7. For the asyndeton, see on § 235, 6.

6. κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοράν: cf. § 131. 6.

7. ληστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων: a pirate, preying upon the rights of the state. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 535, ληστὴς ἐναργῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος. The σφοδρότης of the speaker carries him into bold metaphors (see on § 212. 9). He repeats in this sent. the substance of § 248, but how much more picturesque is this suggestion of a bold pirate sailing on names through the republic, and pillaging its affairs!

§ 254. 1. τὸν καιρὸν: "this critical time." See on § 132. 9.

- ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους  
 5 πολитеυμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καίρους· δόξετε δ', ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παρα- 80  
 βαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ τοῦναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.
- 55 Μὴ οὖν ὥς περὶ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ' ὥς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίῳ σώματα καὶ ἀνδρας ἀξιολογωτέρους ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὥσιν  
 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλεύσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει,

2. μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι: the Pythia were held about September, in the third year of each Olympiad. The assembled delegates would be called upon to pronounce judgment upon the plotters of the Peloponnesian revolt. See *Introd.* § 24.

5. περὶ τοὺς νῦν καίρους: in connection with the present troublous times. The idea of danger is easily associated with *καίρος*. Cf. *Lycurg.* 36, ἐν οἷς δὲ καιροῖς καὶ ἡλίκοις κινδύνοις τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν Λεωκράτης προδεδωκεν, ἀναμνησάι ὁμᾶς βούλομαι. The point made in § 254 is one of the most important in the oration. It was a daring thing to crown the enemy of Alexander then. The words of Aeschines convey a threat. See *Introd.* § 24 *fin.* The prayer with which Demosthenes closes his oration, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, shows with what terrors the atmosphere was surcharged.

§ 255. 1. ἀλλοτρίας. . . οἰκείας: cf. § 78. 4.

2. φιλοτιμίας: honors. Cf. § 45. 7. "The proper function of the court is not to distribute favors, but to judge deserts."

3. σώματα: cf. § 78. 4; i. 77, περὶ τοῦ σώματος ὅστις Ἀθηναῖος ὄντως ἐστί. These passages show how far σώματα is from bearing in itself any contemptuous meaning. Yet it is a convenient word for leading up to the disparaging remarks which follow.

4. ἀπόθεσθε: defer, reserve. Cf. *Dinarch.* i. 30, εἰς ποῖον γὰρ καιρὸν ἀποθήσεσθε; *Lys. Frag.* 31. 3 (Bekker), οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολλύουσι.

5. διαβλέψαντες: note the force of prep., sharply. "This is a case for sharp use of your eyes. Do not take your estimate of Demosthenes from his talk." Note the *zeugma*. — εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς: const. with διαβλέψαντες. "A review of your own fellow-jurors will open your eyes to the nature of De-

πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον οὐχ ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπι-  
 10 μελόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας  
 256 κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται. . . ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῇ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκ-

mosthenes' friends." A bold attempt to divide the jury.

7. **συγγυμνασταί**: on gymnastic training for Athenian youth, see on § 246 *in.*; as an important element in true manliness, cf. *Ar. Ran.* 727 ff., τῶν πολιτῶν θ' οὓς μὲν ἴσμεν εὐγενεῖς καὶ σώφρονες ἄνδρας ὄντας καὶ δικαίους καὶ καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς, καὶ τραφέντας ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ. *Xen. Rep. Ath.* i. 13, marks it as one of the signs of the deep degeneration of the times, that gymnastic training has fallen into disuse.

8. **ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν**: hunting was a favorite amusement with the Greeks from Meleager down. Cf. *Xen. Ven.* i. 1, τὸ εὖρημα θεῶν, ἔγραυ καὶ κύνας. *Ibid.* 18, ἐγὼ παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσίῳ μὴδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας.

9. **τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας**: cf. i. 189, τοὺς γυμναζομένους εἰς τὰς εὐεξίας αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντες γινώσκουμεν. Tradition points to bodily infirmity in Demosthenes. Cf. *Liban. Vit. Dem.* (Westermann, lines 29 ff.), ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι καὶ νοσώδης, ὥστε μὴδ' εἰς παλαίστραν φοιτῆσαι, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παῖδες εἰώθεσαν. With this coincide the sneers of Aeschines. Cf. particularly the famous Batalus sneer, ii. 99. The Vatican statue (see on § 207. 5) with pinched features, narrow chest, and conspicuous lack

of *embonpoint*, is strongly corroborative. Finally in the epitaph written by himself, εἴπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμην γυμνῇ, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες, οὐποτ' ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδόν, *Plut. Dem.* 30, one might be tempted to see a confession to the same purport.

10. **ἐπασκῶν τέχνας** κτλ.: reference to the trouble of Demosthenes with his guardians (cf. ii. 99, and see on § 173. 2), or to his machinations in connection with his trierarchic law. See on § 222 *in.* For a charge of still more disreputable practices in the same line, with specifications, cf. i. 170 ff.

11. **διαγεγένηται**: has lived through, i.e. continuously. Cf. i. 24, τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὃ πάντες ἀφικέμεθα, ἐὰν ἔρα διαγενώμεθα.

§ 256. 1. See App.—**ἀλαζονεῖαν**: see on § 218 *fin.*

2. **Βυζαντίους ἐξελέσθαι**: cf. *Dem.* xviii. 87 ff. For a treatment of this topic much less creditable to Demosthenes, cf. *Plut. Phoc.* 14. See Spengel, *Vertheidigung des Ktesiphon*, pp. 29 ff.

3. **ἀποστήσαι Ἀκαρνᾶνας**: see on § 97. 7. The natural place for this mention would be *Dem.* xviii. 237, where Leucadians and Coreyraeans are mentioned in a catalogue of the peoples whom Demosthenes arrayed on the side of Athens in the campaign of Chaeronea. For the form of expression, cf. § 167. 5.



πλήξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας· οἶται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς  
 5 τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα  
 ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας ἀλλ' οὐ συ-  
 257 κοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς  
 ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδο-  
 κημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῇ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὅρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἐστηκες ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμέ-  
 5 νους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐερ-  
 γέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα  
 τὴν δημοκρατίαν, σωφρόνως δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδεὶν τρό-  
 πῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι  
 258 τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φό-  
 ρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγα-

4. ἐκπλήξαι Θηβαίους: cf. Dem. XVIII. 211 ff. See on § 145. 5.

6. ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας: if they believed these three stories they must believe this. Peitho is the goddess who turns the hearts of men. Cf. Sappho, i. 18 (Bergk), τίνα δηρὸν Πειθῶ μαῖς ἔσθ' ἐς σὺν φίλῳ. Hdt. viii. 111, προϊσχυμένον Θεμιστοκλῆος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωντοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθῶ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην. Isocr. xv. 249, τὴν Πειθῶ μίαν τῶν θεῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρᾶσι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίαν αὐτῇ ποιουμένην. Perhaps this yearly offering suggested τρέφειν which is here used maliciously, suggesting that Demosthenes lived at the expense of the state. The suggestion of this comparison seems, however, to have come mainly from Eupolis, who in his comedy Δῆμοι, spoke of Πειθῶ as sitting on the lips of Pericles (Πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χειλέσιν, Eupolis, Frag. 94, Kock; cf. Plato, Phaed. 91c). The insinua-

tion, then, is that Demosthenes is trying to ape Pericles.

§§ 257-259. The natural peroration. This passage has been justly much admired. Lord Brougham says, 'So fine a peroration is perhaps not in any language to be found.' Works, VII. p. 184.

§ 257. 3. ὑπολαμβάνετε ὅρᾶν: see on § 153 in.

4. βήματος: see on § 207 fin.—ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους: drawn up in line, as if to do battle. Cf. § 1. 1, παράταξιν. i. 176, ὑμέτερον δ' ἔργον ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιτετάχθαι.

6. Σόλωνα: see on § 2. 4.

7. σωφρόνως: opp. to the ἀσέλγειαν of Demosthenes' clique.

§ 258. 1. Ἀριστείδην τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα: the establishment of the Confederacy of Delos was effected largely through the confidence which the Greeks felt in Aristides' honesty. Cf. Plut. Arist. 24. Dem. xxiii. 209.

2. οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας

τέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιο-  
 σύνης προπηλακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε  
 5 εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέρες ὑμῶν Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην κομίσαντα  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, παρ'  
 οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ' ἐκ τῆς πό-  
 λεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 259 Δημοσθένην, οὐ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον ἀλλὰ  
 δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτημένον, χρυσῷ στε-

ξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος; this proof of probity is more important to the speaker than φόρους τάξαντα. The same theme is enlarged upon, Plut. *Arist.* 27, τάφος ὃν φασὶ κατασκευάσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ μῆδ' ἐντάφια καταλιπόντι. *Id.* 6, ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημοτικὸς ἐκτήσατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ θειωτάτην προσηγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον. *Nep. Arist.* 3. The reports of his extreme poverty, which one finds in late writers, are hardly consistent with the fact that he is always mentioned as a representative of the aristocracy. For a more nearly contemporary testimonial to his probity, cf. Eupolis, *Δῆμοι Frag.* 91 (Kock), ΝΙΚΙΑΣ. πῶς γὰρ ἐγένου δίκαιος; ΑΡΙΣΤ. ἡ μὲν φύσις τὸ μέγιστον ἦν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ γὰρ προθύμως τῇ φύσει συνελάμβανον.

3. σχετλιάζοντα: see on § 244. 4.

4. προπηλακισμῷ: cf. Dem. xviii. 12. To associate Justice with Demosthenes is in the speaker's view to throw her in the mire.

5. εἰ οἱ πατέρες κτλ.: see on § 158. 3, 179, in. — Ἀρθμιον: Arthmius from Zelea in the Troad was at the time of Xerxes' invasion a temporary resident (ἐπιδημήσαντα) of Athens and had formerly been honored by an appointment as Athenian proxenus. He was, however, detected in con-

veying money from Xerxes to the Spartans for purposes of bribery. He was declared an outlaw on the motion of Themistocles. Cf. Plut. *Them.* 6. The decree inscribed on a column was set up on the Acropolis to make the case an everlasting example. The orators make it a stock illustration of patriotism. Cf. Dem. ix. 41-45; xi. 271. Dinarch. ii. 24.

7. παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθον: one degree stronger than παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦλθε (Thuc. viii. 76. 4), starting with παρὰ μικρόν. Lit. came within nothing at all of killing him. Eng. came within next to nothing, etc. Why they did not kill him, none of the writers say. Perhaps they failed to catch him. His προξενία did not render his person inviolable, for the proclamation immediately issued offered immunity to any one who killed him or any member of his family. Cf. Dem. ix. 44, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι.

9. ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν: cf. Dinarch. ii. 25, Ἀρθμιον πολέμιον εἶναι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.

§ 259. 1. οὐ κομίσαντα ἀλλὰ: the point of the contrast seems to be, "not conveying it as Arthmius did, but taking it as a bribe, and still holding it."

φάνω μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ  
5 αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἶσθε στε-  
νάξειν, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν  
ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται;

260 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις  
καὶ παιδεία, ἣ διαγινώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά,  
βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἶρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ

3. μέλλετε στεφανοῦν: see Introd. § 24, note 8. — Θεμιστοκλέα: completing the trio prominent in the remote history of Athens, who call for a higher flight of oratory than the more recent trio of § 243.

4. Μαραθῶνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς: see on § 181 *in*.

5. αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους κτλ.: an almost dangerous flight, which could justify itself to the audience only if they believed that Aeschines really thought Demosthenes as bad as he chose to represent him. Cf. Webster's 'The very walls will cry out in its support.' That Demosthenes also mentions (xviii. 208) 'the public tombs' seems to show that he had this passage distinctly in mind when he shaped that part of his reply.

6. τοῖς Ἑλλησιν: identification of Macedonians with Greeks. See Introd. § 26.

§ 260. *Unnatural and artificial peroration.*

In the judgment of most critics, this final section ruins the true peroration. Lord Brougham calls it 'a total failure — one of the most remarkable in the history of rhetoric.' *Works*, VII. p. 185. It cannot be claimed that the Attic orator was bound by any custom to tone down

an oration by some commonplace passage at the end. Demosthenes acknowledged no such law. For even if iii. and iv. conform to such a requirement, v. and vi. close in full flight. Demosthenes' reply before the same jury sustains itself to the very last word. Blass' judgment (III. 2, p. 193) is 'that the heroic mask of the patriot fitted Aeschines so badly, however carefully he had adjusted it, and however carefully he had kept it in place up to this point, that now it dropped and the actor was revealed.'

1. ὦ γῆ: see on § 137. 3. — ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία: when Aeschines has left the beaten track of oaths at ἥλιε, one feels that he is wandering, and wonders where he will come out. At last he seems to stumble upon παιδεία, about which he had an unfortunate propensity to boast. See on § 117. 5. — σύνεσις: this word reminds one of Euripides' new goddess σύνεσις, *Ar. Ran.* 893. The speaker will suggest that ἀρετή, σύνεσις, and παιδεία, are offended at the honor proposed for Demosthenes. For the censure bestowed by Demosthenes on this oath, cf. *Dem.* xviii. 127, 128.

3. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς κτλ.: had the oration closed without the following



ἀδικήματος κατηγορήκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐν-  
 5 δεεστέως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων  
 λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλελειμμένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ  
 τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

bathos, the effect of the oath would not have been so damaging.

6. ἐκ τῶν παραλελειμμένων: it suits the orators to indicate a fulness of unused material. Cf. Lys. XIV. 47, ὑμεῖς οὖν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ παραλελειμμένα ἀναλογισάμενοι, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθε. Id. XXXI. 34, ἱκανά μοι νομίζω εἰρησθαι, καίτοι πολλὰ γε παραλι-

πών· ἀλλὰ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἄνευ τούτων αὐτοῦς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει γνώσεσθαι. Aeschines in particular affected this fulness. Cf. §§ 53 in., 203. That he had not said all that he wanted to say, and that he had deep thoughts reserved because the Athenians were not able to bear them, is, however, a very unreasonable supposition.

## APPENDIX.

## I. MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND AUXILIARIES.

## MANUSCRIPTS.

THERE are many manuscripts of Aeschines extant; and although few of them date back of the 15th century, they are judged by good authorities to afford a reasonably satisfactory text. Many of these contain other matter besides the orations of Aeschines, and many do not contain all of the orations. Schultz describes 27 of these Mss. in his preface, pp. xxii. ff. The following is an abridged description of a few of the best in his list. The designation by letters is that introduced by Bekker.

I. (e) Venice, Library of St. Mark's, append. class. 8, cod. 4: parchment, of 209 leaves of square form. It contains, besides Aesch. II. and III., Demosthenes' *Philippics* and *On the Crown*.

(k) Paris, National Library, 2998: cotton paper (bombycina) folio, of the 14th or 13th century, of 389 somewhat small leaves, spotted and worm-eaten. It contains, besides Aesch. III., Dem. XIX. and some other matter. It has also scholia in various places.

(l) Paris, National Library, 3002: linen paper (chartacea) folio, of the 15th or 16th century. It contains the three orations and twelve spurious letters of Aesch. and some other matter.

(h) Paris, National Library, 2947: linen paper folio, of the 15th century. It contains the three orations of Aesch., with a life of the orator and Libanius' introduction to Dem. XIX.

It is now customary (after the example of Weidner) to designate the first three of these Mss. (e, k, l) by A. With these, which are near enough related to constitute a family, h is closely allied, particularly in III., from § 112 to the end.

II. (a) Rome, Library of the Cloister of San Agostino (Bibliotheca Angelica), class. 3, 11: cotton or linen paper, of very large size. It contains, besides the three orations of Aesch., 36 orations of Aristides. Scholia are given only in the first part of I.

(g) Paris, National Library, 2930: linen paper folio, of the 15th century. It contains, besides the three orations of Aesch., with very full marginal scholia, several orations of Isocrates.

(m) Paris, National Library, 3003: linen paper folio, of the 15th century or later. It contains, besides the three orations of Aesch., with scholia as far as III. 19, and the twelve letters, two lives of the orator (that of Apollonius and the Anonymous life) and introductions to each of the orations.

(n) Paris, National Library, 3004: parchment folio, of the 16th century. It contains Aesch. III., with an introduction, and Dem. XVIII.

This group of Mss. (a, g, m, n), also closely related, is now designated by B. Other Mss. seem nearly related to B, notably two:—

(b) Rome, Barberini Library, 263: of 304 leaves of square form, of which 66 are parchment, the rest linen paper, written by four different hands. It contains much besides Aesch. Bekker read through I., and, noticing the resemblance to (a), omitted the rest. It belongs to the 15th or 16th century.

(p) Helmstadiensis, now in Wolfenbüttel, enthusiastically admired by Reiske, a beautiful and clear parchment Ms. of the 15th century, to which the scribe has appended his name, Γεώργιος γέγραφεν ὁ χρυσοκόκκης. It contains the three orations and twelve epistles of Aesch. and some other matter.

Another Mss. (f or F), Library at St. Germain (Bibliotheca Coisliniana), 249, deserves mention on account of its supposed greater age. It is a parchment Ms. of the 10th century. It contains the three orations of Aesch., with scholia, the epistles, introductions, and life of the orator.

There has been much difference of opinion as to the relative value of A and B. Bekker gave the palm to A, but most editors and critics have till recently inclined to B (Franke, Schultz, Baiter and Sauppe). Cobet, Weidner, and the younger generation of critics have in general gone back to Bekker's preference.

A fragment of papyrus recently discovered in Fayum, in Egypt, containing Aesch. III. 178-186 in uncial letters, representing apparently a text of the Alexandrian period, is a most valuable criterion in this matter. This fragment not only gives us a guarantee for the general trustworthiness of the Mss., which are all so much later, but shows the greater faithfulness of A to the Alexandrian text. See Hartel, *Ueber die Griechischen Papyri Erzherzog Rainer*, Vienna, 1886.

#### EDITIONS.

*Oratores Graeci*. J. J. Reiske. Leipzig, 1770-75. 12 vols. This was a great work for the time. It includes the commentaries and critical notes



of Wolf, Taylor, and Markland, and is equipped with indexes. Isocrates is not included in it.

*Oratores Attici et quos sic vocant Sophistae.* G. S. Dobson. London, 1828. 16 vols. A Latin translation forms part of the work.

*Oratores Attici ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri.* Berlin, 1823-24. 5 vols. Oxford, 1823-28. 10 vols. This is accompanied by critical notes and indexes, and like everything of Bekker's is still valuable.

*Oratores Attici. Recensuerunt atque adnotationes criticas addiderunt J. G. Baiter et H. Sauppe.* Zurich, 1839-50. A quarto of somewhat less than 1500 pages, in 2 parts. Part 1st contains the text, with critical notes, Part 2d fragments, scholia, and an index of names. This, often bound in a single volume, is the most serviceable and most widely used of all the editions. It may be looked upon as the *textus receptus*.

*Oratores Attici.* C. Müller. Didot. Paris, 1846-47. 2 vols. This is the text of the preceding edit., omitting Demosthenes, with the addition of a Latin translation revised by the editor.

Of critical editions of Aeschines the following may be mentioned:—

*Aeschinis Orationes.* W. Dindorf. Leipzig, 1824.

*Aeschinis Orationes.* F. Franke. 2d edit. Leipzig, 1860.

*Aeschinis Orationes e codicibus partim nunc primum excussis edidit, scholia ex parte inedita adiecit F. Schultz.* Leipzig, 1865. This is in many respects the best edition of Aeschines. The account of the Mss. in the preface is very full and satisfactory. The different readings are given with a fulness and accuracy not found in either Weidner or Simcox. The collection of scholia is much larger than any other published. The preface also contains several pages of illustrations of Aeschines' use of elision,—a matter in which the Mss. vary greatly.

*Aeschinis Orationes. Recensuit Andreas Weidner.* Berlin, 1872.

*Aeschines' Reden Griechisch und Deutsch. Uebersetzt und erklärt von Gustav Eduard Benseler.* Leipzig, 1855-60. The introductions and exegetical and critical notes are brief, but good, and the translation is for the most part admirable.

*Aeschinis in Ctesiphontem Oratio. Recensuit explicavit Andreas Weidner.* Leipzig, 1872. This has Latin explanatory notes and critical notes on the same page with the text. This book marks an epoch in the text-criticism of Aeschines. The principles of text-criticism followed by the editor are given in prolegomena covering 37 pages. These principles will be summarized and illustrated below (pp. 251 ff.).

*The Orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown.* G. A. and W. H. Simcox. Oxford, 1872. This contains several introductory essays

and English explanatory notes and Latin critical notes on the same page with the text.

The three editions last mentioned are valuable both critically and exegetically. The following may be mentioned as exegetical helps.

*Lysiae et Aeschinis Orationes selectae* (containing Aesch. III.). J. H. Bremi. Gotha and Erfurt, 1826. With Latin notes, mainly exegetical.

*Aeschines in Ctesiphontem et Demosthenes de Corona.* J. H. Bremi. London, 1837. This is the preceding, with Bremi's notes translated into English.

*Aeschinis Oratio in Ctesiphontem commentario in usum scholarum instructa.* J. H. Bremi. Gotha, 1845.

*The Orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes on the Crown, with Modern Greek prolegomena and English notes by Alexander Negris.* Boston, 1829 and 1838. This was edited by a Greek living in America, and is a curiosity rather than a help.

*The Oration of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, with notes.* J. T. Champlin. Cambridge, 1850. The first edition contained numerous errors. Many of these were corrected in a 2d edit., Cambridge, 1868, after a review of the 1st edit. by President Woolsey in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1850.

*The Oration against Ctesiphon, with short English notes for the use of schools.* Oxford, 1869.

*The Orations of Demosthenes on the Crown and Aeschines against Ctesiphon.* B. Drake. 5th edit. London and New York, 1872. The introduction and notes are brief, but very good.

*Aeschines Rede gegen Ktesiphon erklärt von A. Weidner.* Berlin, 1878. This has a critical appendix of four pages, containing little more than a list of variations from the Latin edition of 1872. Other critical apparatus is lacking. The explanatory notes at the foot of the page and the long introduction are in German, as in the other volumes of the Weidmann series. On this edition the present one is based.

#### AUXILIARIES.

The discussion of the orations and life of Aeschines is so bound up with that of the orations and life of Demosthenes that nearly every work on Demosthenes touches Aeschines also. This remark applies pre-eminently to the two following works, the former of which is so often referred to in the notes of the present edition.

*Demosthenes und seine Zeit.* A. Schäfer. Leipzig, 1856-58. 2d edit., 1885-87. The 2d edit., though improved in many respects, unfortunately does not contain the several valuable appendixes (Beilagen) of the 1st edit. In the notes of the present edition the references are to the pages

of the 1st edit., the page numbers of which are retained in the margin of the 2d.

*Die Attische Beredsamkeit.* F. Blass. Leipzig, 1868–80. A 2d edition is in preparation.

Minor helps are the following:—

Literary and historical: *Demosthenes Vertheidigung des Ktesiphon.* Leonhard Spengel. Munich, 1863. This is exceedingly severe against Demosthenes.

*Ueber die Beweisführung des Aeschines in der Rede gegen Ktesiphon.* C. von Halm. Munich, 1875. This, without being such in name, is really a reply to Spengel.

*Kirchhoff. Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie.* 1875. pp. 64 ff. This treats of the revision of Aesch. III. See Introd. § 28, note.

*De duplici Recensione Orationis Aeschineae contra Ctesiphontem habitae.* B. Cümmerer. Arnstadt, 1876.

*Observationes in Aeschinis usum Dicendi.* V. Trentepohl. Strassburg, 1877.

*Die Beweisführung des Aeschines in der Rede gegen Ktesiphon.* H. W. Reich. Nuremberg, 1st half, 1884; 2d half, 1885. This is a thorough discussion of the matters at issue in the trial for the Crown, but the balance is always struck in Demosthenes' favor.

Textual criticism:

*Observationes in Oratores Atticos.* C. Scheibe. Halle, 1836.

*Corriguntur nonnulla in Aeschinis Ctesiphontea.* J. Bake in his *Scolica Hypomnemata*, IV., pp. 315–334. Leyden, 1852.

*Herwerden in Mnemosyne*, V. (1856) pp. 192 ff.

*Hamaker in Mnemosyne*, VIII. (1859) pp. 1 ff.

*Lectiones Aeschiniae.* F. Franke in *Philologus*, I. Suppl. (1860), pp. 427–476.

*Questiones de Aeschinis Oratione contra Ctesiphontem.* G. Roemheldt. Marburg, 1869.

*Variae Lectiones.* G. Cobet. Leyden, 2d edit., 1873. The part relating to Aeschines is pp. 478–504.

*Andreae Weidneri de Aeschines emendatione ad Cobetum epistula.* Giesen, 1874.

*Zur Kritik von Aeschines Ctesiphontea.* E. Rosenberg. Leipzig, 1878.

*Questiones Aeschineae de Codicum Aeschinis generibus et auctoritate.* R. Büttner. Berlin, 1878.

*De Additamentis quae in Aeschinis Orationibus inveniuntur.* P. Papst. Weimar, 1880.

*De Codicibus Aeschineis.* J. Adam. Berlin, 1882.

*Kritische Untersuchungen zu Aeschines' Reden.* H. Ortner. Munich, 1886.



## Scholia:

*Scholia Graeca in Aeschinē et Isocratē.* W. Dindorf. Oxford, 1852.  
*Die Scholien zu Aeschines.* F. Schultz in *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, XC.  
 (1866) pp. 289-315.

*Questiones de Scholiorum Aeschineorum Fontibus.* J. Freyer in *Leipziger Studien*, V. (1882) pp. 239-392.

The newest English translation of this oration is, *The Two Orationes on the Crown.* A new translation, by G. W. Biddle. Philadelphia, 1881.

## II. CRITICAL NOTES.

*Introductory.* The main purpose of these notes is to state and in part explain the peculiarities of the text of Weidner's German edition, which has been taken as the text of the present edition. A few exegetical notes have been added. These, in the main, are notes which seemed too long to be inserted under the text in the body of the book. W.'s text has been changed materially only in §§ 3, 34, 46, 80, 101, 146, 182, 207, 208, 212, 222, 226, 234, 247. These changes will be mentioned in their places. W.'s text is filled with bracketed words, which it is quite likely that he would prefer to expunge rather than retain without brackets. But in the present edition these words have for the most part been given without brackets, from a conviction that most of them are genuine, and from an unwillingness, even in deference to W.'s authority, to retain so many brackets to the disfigurement of the printed text.

The following are the cases of removal of brackets: § 3, τὰ ψηφίσματα, προεδρεύειν. § 4, τῶν . . . πόλει. § 7, εἶναι. § 10, ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων. § 11, πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα. § 13, φήσουσιν. § 15, ἐπειδὴ . . . ἀρχουσι. § 21, λέγει, ὑπεύθυνον. § 23, μάλιστα, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. § 29, αἰρετοί. § 33, οὖν. § 36, φήσουσιν. § 38, νόμοι. § 39, καὶ . . . καταλείπειν. § 42, ἡ . . . πόλεως, καὶ . . . ψηφίσματος. § 44, νόμοις, ὑπὸ . . . δημοτῶν, καὶ . . . στεφάνων. § 48, ναί. § 52, καὶ before τούτων. § 62, χρόνος. § 63, τοῦ . . . πέμπεσθαι. § 70, μετ' Ἀθηναίων. § 72, κατὰ . . . πόλεως. § 73, βουλευτῆς ὢν. § 81, συμπρέσβεις. § 86, χάριτας, τάχιστα. § 88, μάχῃ. § 89, ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, χρόνον. § 90, καὶ before παραγγελλομένης. § 92, Δημοσθένους. § 93, καὶ ἀνδγνῶθι. § 94, ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. § 103, νῖόν. § 108, καὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ . . . ἀνδραποδισαμένους, Ἀθηναίον. § 113, καὶ . . . γενομένης. § 114, δημοκρατουμένης. § 117, ἐκ. § 121, ἐν . . . γέγραπται. § 123, Δελφῶν. § 124, παντὶς τοῦ λόγου, ὁ γραμματεὺς. § 128, ἀλλ'. § 130, καὶ ἐμπλαμένους. § 139, καὶ δυνατὸς . . . καί. § 141, εἰς τὰς θήβας, Δημοσθένους. § 142, μόνον. § 152, καὶ ἀκαλλιερῆτων, καὶ . . . τάξιν. § 157, εἰς δουλείαν. § 159, κατὰ . . . χρόνους. § 163, ὁ πρῶτος. § 166, ἀνατεμῆκασι . . . δῆμον. § 168, ἐν τῇ φύσει. § 173, καὶ before τοὺς λόγους. § 181, νυνί. § 195, Θρασύβουλος. § 202, οἰόμενον . . . ἀναρῆσιν. § 203, τῶν ἀδικημάτων. § 204, ἀδικημάτων. § 212, τῶν Μειδίου. § 213, κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. § 214, φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι. § 216,

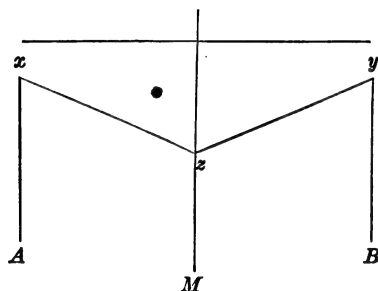
εὐθὺς . . . λόγου. § 230, καὶ ζητῶ. § 235, ταφὰς καί, πρότερον. § 236, λέξεις. § 250, πρᾶττειν.

Franke, and Baiter and Sauppe, had expressed discontent with our Mss., the latter declaring in their preface, p. ii., *Hi codices ut inter se diversissimi sunt, ita a veritate et integritate omnes longissime absunt*. But Weidner was the first to lay down certain fixed principles for adjudicating between the different Mss., and to make an attempt to put an end to the subjective arbitrariness which had hitherto prevailed. If he has not always avoided this himself, he has at least fairly won the praise bestowed on him by Cobet (V. L., p. 483), *edidit vir egregie doctus et acute cernens Andreas Weidner, qui longe maximam τῶν παρεμβεβλημένων partem expunxit, complura feliciter emendavit et de Codicibus sanum ac prudens iudicium tulit*, and echoed by Blass, Herwerden, and Büttner, the latter being one of his keenest critics.

Weidner's starting-point is the proposition: *omnes Ctesiphonteeae codices qui adhuc innotuerint ex uno eodemque fonte tamquam capite fluxisse*. Omnium igitur unus et communis habetur archetypus. That this archetype had lacunae he makes probable by the fact that the lacuna of § 159 is common to all the Mss. Interpolations like *τούτους αἰρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι*, § 30; *κατὰ τὴν πρεσβεΐαν*, § 78; *μετὰ . . . ζηλοτυπίας*, § 81; *ἡ γὰρ ψήφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται*, § 233, common to all the Mss., show that the archetype was interpolated also. It had also *locos pravorum*, to judge by common corruptions like those in §§ 101, 166.

From this archetype, through two separate, no longer extant copies, our two groups of Mss., A (e k l) and B (a g m n) have come. W. tries to make clear the relationship between these groups by the following diagram.

ARCHETYPE.



M, a mixed group including all Mss. not in A and B, he supposes to be made up from the other two groups, and so to have little or no weight in determining the true reading. (If the line between ARCHETYPE and z in Weidner's diagram were omitted, the diagram would express more clearly this dependence of M upon the originals of A and B.)

A omits many things that are contained in B, as τὸν χρόνον, § 54; δεξιόμηνος καί, § 87, in which A seems to give the more correct reading. On the other hand, A shows gaps that seem to have come by carelessness, as in § 95, where τὰς . . . τετταράκοντα is omitted, and particularly in § 31, where two lines στέφανον . . . ὑπεύθυνον are omitted, the scribe's eye slipping on from one ὑπεύθυνον to another.

From a consideration of many passages, Weidner establishes the principle that the scribe of A's original was somewhat careless, but withal true to the archetype, while the scribe of B's original was something of a grammarian, who imported a little of his art into his copying. The additions, which have generally been supposed to be somewhat numerous in our Mas., probably came into the text in the usual way, viz., by being first written as a comment either on the margin of the page or between the lines. A passage in § 31 illustrates the problem which confronted each scribe, and how each solved it. In the archetype stood

καὶ Κτησιφῶντα  
τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην μάρτυρα παρέξομαι.

The scribe of A's original, in his desire to reproduce all that he found, simply brought down the comment καὶ Κτησιφῶντα, and wrote τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην μάρτυρα καὶ Κτησιφῶντα παρέξομαι, while the scribe of B's original, being unwilling to leave a sentence so confused, wrote τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.

κελεύει

So in § 100 the archetype had ἐνταῦθα δὲ συστρέψας γράφει ἐλίσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἑρετρίαν. The scribe of x simply wrote γράφει καὶ κελεύει, but the scribe of y, wishing to join his words more compactly, wrote γράφει κελεύων ἐλίσσθαι. Weidner draws the following conclusion: Demonstravisse mihi videor illum grammaticum qui unum genus codicum (B) confecerit, et doctiorem et audaciorem fuisse quam eum qui alterum genus (A) composuerit. Non dico nulla esse emblemata in A—archetypus jam multis additamentis scatebat—sed hoc etiam atque etiam affirmo, A multo integriorem esse quam B, vitia autem in hoc genere tam tecta et obducta esse, ut nihil profecto, si vetus ille grammaticus multos nostrae aetatis grammaticos deceperit, mirandum videatur.

It is a curious circumstance that in A the additions were mostly worked into the text to the right, and in B to the left, where they were often better woven into the texture of the sentence. Thus, supposing in § 72 τῆς εἰρήνης to be a gloss between the lines and over συμμαχίαν, the scribe of x transcribed τὴν συμμαχίαν τῆς εἰρήνης, but the scribe of y τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν. In § 120, in the same way, A has τὰ θύματα τοῖς βαμοῖς, while B has τοῖς βαμοῖς τὰ θύματα. This is the canon which Weidner applies for the detection of



glosses: varying order of words implies the presence of a gloss. He does not always apply his rule, but no one will complain that he does not do so with sufficient freedom.

When a different word appears in A from that which appears in B, Weidner often rejects both as glosses, and gets back to the archetype. Thus in § 170 he rejects both *καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους* A, and *καὶ τοὺς πολέμους* B, as glosses explaining τὰ δεινὰ. So in § 206 after *ἐνεδρεβόντες*, A *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, B *ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει*: in § 246 after τὰ δημόσια, A *δικαία*, B *κηρύγματα*. But this rule for detecting glosses is applied more sparingly than the other.

Without further illustration of Weidner's principles here, in the following notes a list of the passages will be given in which he has made the most significant changes, and of those in which he has left out words which one accustomed to the *textus receptus* would miss as an essential part of the text. Minor cases of excision and change many times more numerous will be passed by in silence.

The abbreviations used are as follows:—

- BS. Baier and Sauppe.
- Bekk. Bekker.
- Bens. Benseler.
- Cob. Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, pp. 478-504.
- F. Franke.
- R. Reiske.
- S. Schultz.
- W. 1872. Weidner's Latin edit.
- W. Weidner's German edit. of 1878.

§ 1. 1. ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. All the Mss. except A have, as usual in this formula, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, which is adopted by most edit. Trentepohl (pp. 59 f.) gives a list of all the passages in Aeschines in which this formula occurs, and argues from the vast preponderance of the shorter form (64 undoubted cases, 22 in which the Mss. vary, not one of the longer form alone) for its restoration in all cases when the Mss. differ. In Demosthenes, on the contrary, there is but one case of the shorter form to more than a thousand cases of the longer.—Aeschines' familiarity with Andocides is attested by his borrowing Andoc. iii. 3 ff. and incorporating it into ii. 176 ff. For a discussion of Aeschines' indebtedness on this point, see Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, pp. 556 ff.

2. 5. ἐξῆν. Dobson, following a suggestion of Bekk., has this reading. So also S. and Simeon. Most edit., following the Mss., have ἐξῆ, a solecism arising from the carelessness of scribes, who put the subjv. after *ἵνα* without noting the connection.

2. 6. Between *πολιτῶν* and *σφαρόνως* the Mss. and edit. have ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι (A. *προστάττουσι* or *προτάττουσι*).

3. 6. After *λάχρ* W. 1872 has with Mss. and edit. *κληροόμενοι*, of which Cob. says, O putidum emblemā et auribus molestum.

3. 9. εἰσαγγέλλειν: W. and S. with no Mss. εἰσαγγελεῖν. This was a suggestion of R., seconded by Hamaker. The connection does not require the fut.

4. 7. οἱ πρυτάνεις: as a standing committee, the prytans formed, as it were, the visible and tangible government. Any important matter such as the seizure of Elatea by Philip, was reported to them. Cf. Dem. xviii. 169. They are said to officiate as police not only in the present passage but also in the Argument to Dem. xxv. See Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, § 127. The word χρηματίζειν, used of the preparation of public business for the assembly, which in 1. 23 is predicated of the πρόεδροι, is in the document inserted in Dem. xxi. 8 predicated of the πρυτάνεις.

4. 8. ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή: most writers have hesitated to take the plain interpretation of these words which Aeschines gives, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως (these words are rejected by Herwerden), probably thinking that to array one-tenth of the citizens against the rest would be to inaugurate a civil war around the presiding officer. So they have fallen upon the idea of a committee representing the tribe. See Schömann, I. p. 383, "A number of citizens from each Phyle, determined on each occasion by lot," "einer Anzahl von Bürgern, aus einer jedesmal durchs Loos bestimmten Phyle."

Schäfer in his 1st edit., II. p. 291, thought it meant a "Phyle des Rathes." But in the 2d edit., II. p. 310, he has come back to Aeschines' plain statement, "Eine Phyle, also der zehnte Theil der Bürgerschaft."

7. 4. εἶν: W. adds after Askew and Reiske. The reading of the Mss. and editt. rather awkwardly co-ordinates ἐξαιρεῖσθαι with μισεῖν and ἡγεῖσθαι, with a change of subj.

7. 6. συνηγοροῦντες: W. follows A against the other Mss. and the editt., which have συνεργοῦντες. W.'s reading conforms to Aeschines' fondness for expressing the idea of the verb in a noun of kindred form. See on § 2. 4.

8. 3. καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες: as this repeats the idea of παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν, Cob. says, Hujus loci prior pars Athenis scripta est, posterior in urbe Constantini.

8. 10. τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ συμφέροντι: W. with A. S. has the same with the slight variation τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ. The other editt. have with B τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ.

10. 5. τυχόν . . . ἐνιαυτῷ: contained in all the Mss. and editt. The difficulty of interpretation is insurmountable. The distinction here spoken of is one that must have been conferred within a year of the magistrate's ἐθύναι. Cob. rejects the words as a ridiculous addition.

11. 1. νομοθέτης: this is one of a few cases in which W. shows greater regard for the Mss. than W. 1872. Though his omission of the word was sustained by Cob., he has restored it.

11. 6 f. [τινίς], [εἰσίν]: here also W. is more conservative than usual, in bracketing rather than rejecting. τινίς certainly makes a harsh reading when joined with οἱ μὲν. In the *Ep. ad Cob.* p. 24, W. speaks of Cob.'s rejection of these words as palmaris emendatio.



16. 5. *κακούργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σοφιστήν*: W., contrary to his habit of abridging the Mss., has here, perhaps too much influenced by § 200. 7, added *ἄνθρωπον*. *καὶ* is found in e l.

20. 3. *εὐθύνas, τὸν δαὶ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κύριον ἄγων*: BS. *εὐθύνas διδόναι καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν . . . ἄγει*. The Mss. have *διδόναι* and *ἄγειν*. B τῶν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπῶν. A omits all between *διδόναι* and *ἐπὶ*. Bekk. τῇν for τόν.

22. 8. *ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζηήτητον*: BS. and most editt., following B, have *ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέταστον καὶ ἀζηήτητον*. Because *ἀνεξέταστον* and *ἀζηήτητον* stand in inverse order in A and B, W. omits *ἀνεξέταστον*, disregarding the fondness of the Greeks for accumulation of adjs. with alpha privative. Bekk. follows A.

23. 8. After *κατέθηκας* the Mss. and editt. have *δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πύλως εἰληφώς*. W. is alone in rejecting this, regarding it as a gloss from § 31. 5.

24. 11. *ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ*: e alone has this. The other Mss. give no title except that k l have on the margin *ΔΙΑΔΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ*, which most editt., following Bekk., adopt.

25. 7. *νεωρίων τ' ἐπιμέλοντο*: BS., F. *νεάριον*. Mss., Bekk., Bens., S., *νεωρίων ἀρχήν*.

27. 4. After *ἄρχοντες* the Mss. and editt. have *καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάβανε*. — *Δημοσθένην μάρτυρα*: editt. with B have *Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας*. A has *Δημοσθένην μάρτυρα καὶ Κτησιφῶντα*. A comparison of A and B acc. to W.'s principle shows *καὶ Κτησιφῶντα* to be a gloss. The pl. *ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ* following (§ 28 *in.*), causes difficulty. This, however, can hardly refer to Ctesiphon's proposal, which is read later, after § 33. W. 1872, p. VIII., understands the other document to be the vote of the tribe of Pandionis appointing Demosthenes *τειχοποῖς*. This pl. misunderstood may have been the occasion of the gloss in question.

30. 3. *οἱ τριττύες*: the description of the old *τριττύες*, Poll. viii. 111, *ὅτε μὲν τοι τέτταρες ἦσαν αἱ φυλαὶ, εἰς τρία μέρη ἐκάστη διήρητο, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο τριττύς καὶ ἔθνος καὶ φρατρία* is singularly like that of Harpocr. in the relation of *μέρος* (*μέρη*) to the following nouns. Under the later division into ten tribes the *τριττύες* appear in a classification for military purposes in Dem. xiv. 23. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 475 a, *ὅν μὴ στρατηγῆσαι δύνανται τριττυαρχοῦσι*, where the *τριττυάρχος* would seem to be a subordinate military officer contrasted with the highest. For the same officer performing financial functions, cf. CIA. II. 297, 29 ff., *εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ἐξεταστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριττυάρχους ΔΔ δραχμάς*. On the union of several adjacent demes into a *τριττύς*, see Ross, *Die Deme von Attika*, p. 8, "Die Ἐπακρεῖς bildeten nach einer Inschrift der Akropolis eine *τριττύς*."

30. 4. After *διαχειρίσειν* Mss. and most editt. have *τούτους αἰρετοὺς ἔρχοντας εἶναι*. S. and Cob. omit.

31 *fin.* Halm (p. 3) accuses Aeschines of spicing his arguments with sophisms, notably in regard to Hegemon's law and the distinction between *ἀρχή*



and ἐπιμέλεια. Spengel, however (p. 33), maintains that Demosthenes, not being able to handle the case fairly, feigns astonishment and indignation, declaring apropos of Dem. XVIII. 119, ὁ πᾶμπόνητος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος; "Man wird nicht sehr irren, wenn man überhaupt überall, wo die Redner nur schmähen und schimpfen, die Ursache in dem Mangel wirkliche Gründe vorzubringen sucht."

There is some injustice on this point in each oration. The fact that Demosthenes had at the time of the trial passed the εἶδοναι, though not annulling the illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal, as Demosthenes would assume, had really changed the situation. This Aeschines refuses to recognize. His insinuation that Demosthenes may still fail to pass the εἶδοναι (§ 23) has raised the most unfavorable criticism. See Reich, 1st half, p. 25. This would seem to be downright chicanery rather than mere carelessness of revision. See Introd. § 28 *fin.* Sittl (*Gesch. der Gr. Lit.* II. p. 251) explains this by assuming that Aeschines himself did not give the oration its present form.

Demosthenes could have made a fair defence by waiving the discussion as to the legality of the proposal, and planting himself squarely on the fact that precedent had so sanctioned such proposals that the βουλὴ had not hesitated to adopt it.

34. 4. After Κτησιφῶν δέ W. adds with no Mss. οὐκ ἐν Πικρῇ ἀλλ'. Cob. is satisfied with this addition, but would omit ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ of line 2, which W. in *Ep. ad Cob.*, p. 20, defends.

34. 6. γιγνομένων: W. follows A. Other Mss. and most edit. have ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν.

39. 5. [καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναπεῖν . . . καταλείπειν]: in all Mss. and edit. Bracketed by W. with Hamaker. The difficulty is to find a subj. for the inf. If the clause is a part of the text, the subj. must be supplied from τῷ δήμῳ, referring to the Nomothetae, 1000 in number (Poll. viii. 101), representing the sovereign people. The verdict of the Nomothetae in the time of Demosthenes was ultimate when the decision (διαχειροτονίαν) in regard to a certain law was put into their hands. The case was not referred back to the ἐκκλησία. The only resort remaining was a παρανόμων γραφή. See Tarbell in *Am. J. of Phil.* X. (1889), p. 82. Schömann, I. pp. 387 ff. Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, § 131.

42. 7. [καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος]: in all Mss., and balancing well with ἄνευ δόγματος, but the latter is sufficiently balanced by πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, and καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος is not unlike a gloss. W. 1872 does not suspect it.

43. 7. ἐναντίον: S. and Cob. Most edit. with the Mss. have ἐνώπιον. After Ἑλλήνων Mss. and edit. have κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι δ' ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. Cob. also omits.

45. 3. [στεφανουμένοις]: Cob. omits this as well as στεφανουμένοις in 5. If retained with Mss. and edit., it is an example not only of Aeschines' exuberant expression, but of his desire to keep repeating the word on which the discussion turns.

45. 8. Between *μηδενός* and *δταν* BS. and most edit. with Mss. *ἀνακηρύττεισθαι, ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν*. S. also rejects this as a gloss, except *ἀνακηρύττεσθαι*. If made a part of the text it would take away the semblance of a quot. from the law.

46. 6. After *καταγνῶναι* Mss. other than A and most edit. have *τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. W. rejects because in A these words come *before* *καταγνῶναι*.

46. 8. After *δν* W. alone has, on the authority of e only, *ἐν*. The const. is unprecedented, and the reading doubtless an error of e.

46. 9. After *ἀφαιρῆσθαι* the Mss. and edit. have *καὶ καθιεροῦν*. W. 1872 brackets. Cob. also omits.

47. 6. After *στέφανον* Mss. and edit. *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*.

48. 8. *οὗτος γέγραπεν*: *οὗτος* is an addition of W. This is not necessary to bolster up the reading *γέγραπεν* of A. The other Mss. and edit. have *γέγραπας*.

55. 12. *ἤξαν*: Mss. except l, which has *αἰξιν*, and all edit. have *ἔξιν*. Cob. (*Mnemosyne*, VIII. p. 161) proposed the present reading.

56. 2. *ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι*: Mss. and edit. show a variation here and in line 7 between *ἀποκρίνομαι*, *ἀποκρίνωμαι* and *ἀποκρινούμαι*.

57. 7. After *Δημοσθένην* W. omits with S. *αἰτίον γεγεννημένον*, supported by varying order in Mss.

58. 5. After *Φίλιππον* W. with S. omits *μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου* of the Mss. Cob. would omit also *εἰ τινες . . . Φίλιππον*, as imported from § 64.

59. This section affords a good exhibition of W.'s pruning of the text. After *καθεζόμεθα* he omits *ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς*: after *οἰκόθεν, ἐνίστε*: after *ἐχοντες, κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν*: after *ἡμῶν, ἐστίν*: after *ὁμολογήσας, καὶ ἐπινεύσας* (with A): after *ἐν, αὐτός* (with A).

62. 4. After *Λυκίους* W. omits *ὁ γραψάμενος*.

72. 3. After *ἀπορρηξάι* W. omits *τῆς εἰρήνης*, because in A it comes after *συμμαχίαν*.

74. 1 f. After *ὁ μὲν* W. omits *Φιλοκράτης*: after *ψηφίσματι, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων*: after *ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται*.

78. 5 ff. After *ἄλλοτριους* W. omits *οὐδέ γε ὁ ἴδιος πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστός*. After *Μακεδονίᾳ* W. omits with Bekk. and S. *κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν* contained in most Mss. and edit.

80. 3. After *Φωκεῖσι* W. adds *καὶ τὰς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς*. But even if it is true that the fate of the Phocian towns was also visited upon some of the Boeotian towns, this need not be mentioned by Aeschines.

In the decision of the Amphictyonic Council, which was ratified by Philip, in regard to the Phocian towns, it was provided (Diod. xvi. 60) *ἔχειν Φωκεῖς τὴν χώραν, καὶ φέρειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ φόρον τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα, μέχρι ἂν ἐκτίσῃσι τὰ ἀπογραφέντα χρήματα κατὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν*. As over 10,000 talents had been taken from the temple (cf. Diod. x. 56, *ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ μύρια τάλαντα*), the payments would last till 180 B.C. Inscriptions recently discovered at Elatea, and described in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* XI. (1887) pp. 318–

346, corroborate Diod. in an interesting manner. The Phocians are spoken of in these inscriptions as paying 30 talents at the spring Pylaea. Presumably the payments were semi-annual, the other 30 talents being paid at the fall Pylaea. The date of the inscriptions is uncertain: it is after Chaeronea, because the Phocians appear as a *κοινόν*. Paus. x. 3. 3 reports that the Athenians and Thebans restored the Phocians to their cities just before Chaeronea. After his victory Philip would have no reason to undo this act. The fine was not remitted even then, nor when, in 279-8 B.C., two Amphictyonic votes were given to the Phocians as a reward of their gallant defence of Delphi against the Gauls. Cf. Paus. x. 8. 3. CIA. II. No. 551. It is argued that the inscriptions are prior to the 2d century B.C., because the Delphic archons named in them do not appear in the list of Delphic archons preserved for the years since 196 B.C.

81. 5. After *ἐβουλεύετο* W. omits, with Scheibe, Bake, and Hamaker, *μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας*.

83. 8. *ληστεύσαντες*: A *πρισβεύσαντες*. Other Mss. *ἐπιστρατεύσαντες*, which is followed by most editt. W.'s emendation seems to lack good grounds.

89. 2. *παρ' ὧν*: in B before *συγγνώμης*. W. 1872 says *fort. delendum*. *Ep. ad Cob.*, p. 19, rejects unqualifiedly. The present reading is an abandonment of W.'s principle, for which he is taken to task by Rosenberg (p. 5).

91. 10. After *ἐπεστράτευσεν* W. omits *ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ Θηβαίων*. Bracketed in W. 1872. After *δευτέρον δ'* W. omits *ἦκεν οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν*.

92. 3. *καὶ πράττειν*: W. adds contrary to his wont.

93. 8. After *μοί* W. with Hamaker omits *τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν*.

94. 1 f. *τηλικούτοι πεπραμένοι τυγχάνουσιν*: W. with A for *πέπραται τηλικούτοι* of B and most editt. After *τυγχάνουσιν* W. with Hamaker omits *καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις*.

99. 6 f. After *λέγειν* most editt. have *ἀριθμῶν*, not in A nor B (except a). — *οὐχ ἑώρακεν οὐδεὶς*: Mss., W. 1872, and editt. have *οὐχ ἑώρακε*. Cob. *οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε*. — *ἦ*: W. and Cob. with Stob. *Flor.* II. 48, for *διό* of Mss. and editt. — *σφόδρα*: W. with A for *μάλιστα* of B and most editt.

100. 8 ff. W. has pruned the text in numerous places without omitting any very significant words.

101. 1. *κάνταυδ' ἀναφαίνεται περὶ πάντ' ὧν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι*: W. has *πάντα τῶν*, BS. *ἔπειτα ἀναφαίνεται περὶ πάντ' ὧν κτλ.* So F., Bens., and most editt. S. *ἔπειτ' ἀναφαίνεται πάλιν ἅπας ὧν κτλ.* Of the Mss. A has *πάντων*, B *ἀπάντων*. The Mss. reading has been considered incapable of interpretation.

101. 5. *καὶ τὰς τριήρεις*: W. omits, destroying the point of the expression. — *ἀνάγνωθι καί*: W. omits.



101. 8. τῷ Ἀθηναίων: Mss. and editt. have τῶν Ἀθηναίων. In the several passages where the Mss. vary between ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων and ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων Trentepohl, p. 61, concludes that the former is used only when particular emphasis is intended, as in §§ 48, 49, 209.

104. 2. πολλοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ χαλκοῦ δ': W. has changed on weak grounds the reading of the Mss., ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ. The expression is much more forcible with the antithesis to χαλκοῦ left to the imagination.

108. 5. Προναίᾳ: whether Aeschines actually wrote Προναίᾳ or Προναίῃ, we cannot tell from our Mss., all of which have the latter. When this superseded the former in later antiquity, critics and copyists would be likely to substitute it everywhere for the former. See K. O. Müller, *Kleine Deutsche Schriften*, II. pp. 195 ff. If Dem. xxv. were genuine, the contrast, *ibid.* 34, between Προναίας and Ἀποναίας would be evidence as to the usage of this time, which it is not unlikely was the turning point.

108. 9. After γνώμην W. omits ἀνδρὲς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ πολέων καὶ φιλοσοφίαν (α σοφίαν) διατετριφότος. Cob. would omit not only this but also Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην.

115. 3. The relation between *ἱερομνήμονες* and *πυλαγόροι* is fully discussed by Bürgel, *Die pyläisch-delphische Amphiktýonie*, pp. 109 ff. See also Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, II. p. 413. *πυλαγόροι* appears to be the older name for the whole body of delegates, coming down from a time when the Amphictyons assembled only at Thermopylae. This usage seems to have survived in Hdt. vii. 213, ὑπὸ τῶν πυλαγῶρων τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων εἰς τὴν πυλαίαν συλλεγομένων. But at the time when the Amphictyons took charge of the sanctuary of Delphi (prob. after the First Sacred War) the delegates took the formal title, *ἱερομνήμονες*. Now as these 24 delegates of the 12 peoples (ἔθνη) forming the league could not adequately represent every city, a new class of delegates called *πυλαγόροι* came to have a place by their side representing the different cities (πόλεις), but for a long time with no voting power. They were an avenue of communication between the council and the different cities forming the peoples therein represented. They prob. came to have more and more influence as an advisory body. Already in 339 B.C. (cf. § 124) they were called in to help the Hieromnemons in the decision of an important matter. But at this date they appear to have withdrawn after giving their advice, leaving the decision to the Hieromnemons. At a time designated by Bürgel and Gilbert as about coincident with this latter date, though Dittenberger makes it nearer the close of the 3d century, Delphic decrees which had formerly begun ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι, begin to take the form ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραταῖσι. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript.*, Nos. 184, 185, 186. The name ἀγοραταῖς is taken by Dittenberger to be a new name for *πυλαγόροι*, coming into vogue at the time when they assumed voting powers. The word *πυλαγόροι* never appears in decrees. Aeschines' ἐκκλησία (§ 124) corresponds to τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον of the decrees, which must therefore be distinguished from τὸ συνέδριον of §§ 116. 12, 117. 2, which clearly refers to an assembly of the Hie-

romnemons only. At Athens the Hieromnemon appears to have held office for two sessions of the *πυλαία*, being chosen by lot before the beginning of each year, at the same time with the archons. Cf. Ar. Nub. 623, ἀνθ' ὧν λαχὼν Ὑπέρβολος τήτης ἱερομνημονεῖν. So the lot might fall upon a man of no great experience in public affairs. Cf. Dem. xviii. 149, ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προοραμένους. The *πυλαγόροι*, on the other hand, were voted for. Cf. §§ 114. 1, 115. 4. They were chosen for each *πυλαία*. For this difference, cf. § 115. 4, 5, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος — *πυλαγόρους* εἴλεσθε. In other states than Athens different regulations seem to have prevailed. In some the Hieromnemones were elected by vote, and in some for each *πυλαία*. The different cities of the Boeotians doubtless would have been discontented to have the important office remain long with a single city. See Bürgel, p. 117, note. Athens appears to have had, as its regular quota, one *ἱερομνήμων* and three *πυλαγόροι*. The other Ionic cities, with the exception of those of Euboea (which collectively had a *ἱερομνήμων*), had to be contented with *πυλαγόροι* simply.

116. 7. *πρὶν ἐξαρδασσάσθαι*: the exact nature of the Athenians' delinquency is hard to determine from the words of Aeschines. Shields with such inscriptions would naturally have been set up immediately after the Persian War. In that case, it would now be rather late for Thebes to take up the grievance. The Schol. understands *καὶνὸν νεῶν* to refer to the temple built by the Alcmaeonidae nearly two centuries before: καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν *καὶνόν*, καθὼς τὸν παλαιὸν ἐμπρησθέντα ἐνφικοδύμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. Cf. Hdt. v. 62, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἀλκμεονίδαι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νεὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι τὸν νῦν ὄντα τότε δὲ οὐκῶ, τοῦτον οἰκοδομήσαι.

Grote (XI. c. 90, p. 275) thinks that we have here a reference to a *restoration* of an offering first made by the Athenians immediately after the battle of Plataea, and that these shields having been stripped of their gilding by the Phocians in the last Sacred War, were now regilded and set up in a new chapel (*καὶνὸν νεῶν*), "reviving historical recollections highly offensive to the Thebans, and to the Amphissian Lokrians as friends of Thebes." Some insignificant omission, he thinks, in the dedicatory formula was made a handle of by the latter against Athens. If we reject this explanation, we have to suppose either that the offence was one a century and a half old (Benseler, Woolsey), or that the temple of Apollo had not yet been dedicated (Schol.). Schäfer, who in his 1st edit. thought that the offence was the first dedication, has in his 2d edit. II. p. 535 adopted the view of Grote. So also Reich, 2d half, p. 13.

122. 8. ὅσοι ἐπὶ δίδετες ἡβῶσι: passages bearing on this subject are 1. 18, Lycurg. 76, Pollux, viii. 105, Stob. Flor. xliii. 48, Harpoer. s.v. ἐπιδίδετες.

The points to be settled are (1) at what age the two years began; (2) what were the duties required of the young men in those years; (3) whether the enrolment as citizens came at the beginning or at the end of the period.

(1) Hermann, *Gr. Privatalt.*, p. 322, and Dittenberger, *De Ephebis Atticis*, p. 8, leave it doubtful whether the *ἐφηβεία* designated by this phrase began



at the beginning or the completion of the eighteenth year. Dumont, *Sur l'Éphébie Attique*, p. 7, understands it to begin on the completion of the eighteenth year, "à dix-huit ans." See also p. 22. "L'expression ἐπιδιετὲς ἡβῆσαι, qui est fréquente pour indiquer qu'on entre dans l'âge éphébique, signifie au propre avoir passé de deux années l'âge d'adolescence; or l'adolescence légale à Athènes finissait à seize ans." On the other hand, Schömann (I. p. 359) and Schäfer (III. Beilage II. p. 35) understand it to begin at the beginning of the eighteenth year. Schäfer declares also that Vömel, who formerly held the opposite view, stated to him that he had come to doubt the correctness of that view. Unnecessary confusion has been introduced into the matter by confounding the two years of ἡβη with the two of ἐφηβεία.

(2) It seems likely that the ἐφηβος was required during both years of the period to perform service as περίπολος, in spite of Harpocr. s.v. περίπολος (with Aristotle for a voucher). Cf. Aesch. II. 167. Pollux, l.c.

(3) The enrolment as a citizen, ἐγγράφεισθαι εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, prob. occurred at beginning of the period, in spite of Pollux, l.c., and Harpocr. l.c. See Dittenberger, p. 9, and Dumont, p. 23 ff. At this time the famous ephobic oath was taken. Cf. Pollux, l.c. Lycurg. 76, ἔστιν ὕρκος, ὃν ὁμνῶνσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσιν καὶ ἐφηβοὶ γίνωνται. A part of the investment with rights of citizenship is the scene described in § 154. The institution of ἐφηβεία, in times after the period of the orators, passed through changes which it is not necessary to discuss here.

123. 8. ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν: ἂν is contained in A h, and is retained by BS., Bekk., R., S. It is rejected by F., Bens., Simcox. H. Frohberger in *Philologus*, XXIX. p. 632 argues for the omission of ἂν in this and all similar passages, as Thuc. iii. 74, in which it is implied that the danger was already present, and it is only the event expressed by the inf. that was contingent. Different is § 88, where the danger was contingent and ἂν is properly used. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 3. 23, v. 2. 41, vi. 2. 23. See GMT, 49, 2, n. 3 d.

124. 3 ff. The clause bracketed by W. could hardly be necessary to an Athenian audience.

126. 3. After ψήφισμα the editt. generally have with B ἤδη ἐπαναστάσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας. A h have ἐπ' ἀναστάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

128. 5. αὐτοῖς: the reading αὐτοῖς of l made W. distrustful of αὐτῆς in the other Mss.

129. 9 f. After εὐσεβεῖς W. omits κατελθόντες διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. e k have καὶ κατελθόντες κτλ. — στρατεῖαν ἐποιήσαντο: W. omits ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφιστάς, which stands in A before στρατεῖαν, in B after it.

132. 3 ff. The question may be raised how far the force of οὐχ extends, and where the sent. becomes declarative. The punctuation adopted is that of nearly all editt. R. continues the question as far as ἐδάφους, § 134. 5. Dobson makes it stop with σωτηρίας, § 132. 9. Drake has no interrogation point at all, which is probably a misprint. If the interpretation of R. be adopted, perhaps there should be but one interrogation point, and that after ἐδάφους.



133. 7. After ἐξ ἀρχῆς W. omits περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, which W. 1872 brackets.

143. 7. εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληθεῖν: k l h have δεῖν, which shows how carelessly the scribes sometimes copied.

146. 4 f. After εἶφη W. omits ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος of Mss. (B ἀπὸ βήματος) and editt. Before τῶν στρατηγῶν he inserts πάντων, with Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, p. 229. He also omits ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου, which is in A and B, except g, which has, with several of M, στρατηγείου.

146. 9. After φέρων W. omits ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων of most Mss.; A has ἐκ τῶν ἀναρπασθέντων ξένων. The editt. retain the reading of B M in preference to that of A, which seems forced.

149. 1. 84. This reading of all editt. is not contained in A h and some other Mss. The omission would make the clause more effective as a resumption of all the items preceding. Perhaps δὴ is the correct reading with a similar effect.

149. 6 f. After ποιῆσθαι the Mss. except a, and all editt., have πρὸς Φίλιππον. a puts this after εἰρήνην. — ἄλλ' ὡς κήρυγμά τι: most Mss. except A have ἄλλ' ὡς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι. This is followed by the editt. n has κηρύγματι. A h have κηρύγματι τοῦτο.

155. 3. After ἀνερεῖ W. omits ἢ τί φθέγγεται: relying on the slight variation in the Mss. (A h, ἢ τί ποτε φθέγγεται), the fact that φθέγγεσθαι occurs three lines farther on, and the opinion of Cobet on Hyperid. *Epitaph.*, p. 48.

156. 1. After θεῶν most editt. have ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, which stands in A h after Ἀθηναῖοι. W. understands this to have arisen from a gloss ἱκετεύει, inserted above the line.

159. 4. τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως . . . τριήρη: there is no variation here in the Mss., except that the so-called *schedae Scrimgeri* (6 leaves of a Ms. of Aesch.) avoids a lacuna by reading ἀργυρολογήσας in line 5. See C. Troost in *Jahrbücher für Phil.*, CXXIX. (1884) p. 101. The editt., beginning with R., have generally recognized a lacuna. BS., Bens., take no note of it. Others, as Bekk., F., do not indicate it in the text. S. suggests τὴν [ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως . . . ἀπέδρα γὰρ] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τριήρη, leaving still a lacuna. Cob.'s emendation is bolder, τὴν [πατρίδα ἐγκατέλιπε· γεγομένης γὰρ τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐθὺς ᾤχετ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως].

159. 8. εἰρηνοφύλακα: perhaps it was proposed to clothe Nausicles, a man of influence at the time, with some special powers for the securing of a good understanding with Philip. If αὐτόν (editt. αὐτόν), the reading of the Mss., though some put it before and others after ἐκέλευε, be retained, εἰρηνοφύλακα seems like a mere piece of sarcasm aimed at the hitherto so warlike, and now so peaceable, Demosthenes.

G. Leue (*Philologus*, XLII. pp. 608 ff), compares this passage with Dem. XVII. 15, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένους, making κοινῇ φυλακῇ of the latter passage equiv. to φυλακῇ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρηνῆς, referring to a board of peace-commissioners. He understands that Demosthenes wished to secure an appoint-

ment on such a board of commissioners, that the board might not be 'captured' by the Macedonian party.

160. 4. *εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων βουλὴν κατέστησε*: A (except l) h, *εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησε*. The other Mss. mostly have *τὴν βουλὴν* in place of *τὴν ἀρχήν*. So the edit.

160. 5. *Μαργίτην*. Freyer (*Leipziger Studien*, V. p. 310) suggests that the nickname was bestowed with some reference to Alexander's reported indifference to women (*cf.* Athen. x. 435a), this being a cardinal point in the popular picture of the booby Margites.

166. 7. *ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες πρῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διέρουσι*. This passage is prob. corrupt. Bekk., Bens., F., Simcox, join *ἐπὶ τὰ στενά* with the preceding. The lack of an obj. to *διέρουσι* makes it difficult to determine the figure in the speaker's mind. *πρῶτον*, which seems obscure, and is omitted by BS. and S., Dobson changes to *πρωκτόν*. The usual interpretation, which the text hardly sustains, is either, *are drawing us through needles*, or *are drawing needles through us*.

167. 2. Dionysius (*De adm. vi dic. in Dem.*, 56) believes the phrases to be inventions of Aeschines. His words *οὐδὲν γὰρ εὗρσκα τοῦτων παρὰ Δημοσθένει κείμενον* look as if he sought for these identical phrases in the published orations of Demosthenes. In regard to the additional statement, *οὐδέ γ' ἄλλα τινὰ φορτικὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνόμενα ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων εὗρεν δεδύνηται*, it may be submitted whether this judgment, endorsed by Blass (*Att. Bered.*, III. i. p. 88), pays enough attention to such expressions as Dem. xviii. 50, *ὥσπερ ἑλωκρασίαν τινὰ μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ κατασκευάσας*. At the time in question Demosthenes was doubtless at a white heat of excitement and talking *ex tempore*.

171. 4. *Νύμφαιον*: Nymphaeum paid a yearly tribute of a talent to Athens. *Cf.* Harpoer. s.v. *Νύμφαιον*. Satyrus I, of the Hellenic line of Spartocidae, who styled themselves princes of the Bosphorus, appears to have been reigning at the time of Gylon's transaction (*cf.* Lys. xvi. 4, *ἡμᾶς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμφορᾶς ὡς Σάτυρον τὸν ἐν Πόντῳ διαιτησομένους ἐξέπεμπε*), and was, like others of his race, most friendly to the Athenians. *Cf.* Dem. xx. 33, *δο' εὐεργέτηκεν ἡμᾶς οὗτος ἀνὴρ* (*i.e.* Leucon, the then ruling Spartocid) *καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πρόγονοι*, and Isoer. xvii. 5, 9, 47, in which passages the representation is that the relations between Athens and Satyrus are so close that he may depend upon his wishes being respected at Athens. CIG. No. 107 is an honorary decree in regard to Spartocus IV. On the Spartocidae, see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II. pp. 339 ff.

As Nymphaeum was only reverting, in the weakness of Athens, to its natural and original subordination to the princes of the Bosphorus, it could cause no international unpleasantness, though it might furnish a handle against the agent in the transfer. For traces of Greek life in this region, see L. Stephani in *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1869-1881.

171. 6. *ἀπ' εὐαγγελίας*: not in B and some other Mss. Rejected by BS.,



R., F., Bens., Simcox. Retained by Bekk., S., Bremi, Champlin. — After ἐγένετο W. with S. omits θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ (ε, θανάτω).

175. 8. After ὁμοίως W. omits εἰσι γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί, in all Mss. and edit., except that e l have δέ for γάρ, and l omits καί.

177. 5. After ἐπανορθωθήσεται W. makes his largest excision. All Mss. and edit. with trifling variations have τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. A and B (except a) lack γάρ. W.'s objection to the passage is that it breaks the connection in the argument, whereas the same thought is expressed appropriately at § 180 *fin.* But this objection rests upon the assumption that Aeschines never added irrelevant remarks.

180. 1 ff. τὸ σπάνιον . . . νικᾷν: the Fayum Frag. is against this reading of W. and Cob., and in favor of the Mss. and edit., which have the art. before each adj. and ἐκ τῆς νίκης for εἶναι τὸ νικᾷν. It is also against W.'s omission of ἐπασκεῖν after ἠθέλησεν, § 179 *fin.* Its own credit is somewhat weakened by the retention of κατὰ in παρακαταθέμενοι of the Mss., edit., and W. 1872.

181. 4. Σαλαμίνα: B., Σαλαμῖνι. The Fayum Frag. gives the curious compromise ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑΙ.

181. 6. W. omits τοὺς βαρβάρους because in A h it stands after, and in B before νικήσας. He also omits ἢ οὗτος after νικήσας. The Fayum Frag. has both these, being in the former case against W.'s favorite canon. The same authority is against W.'s omission of ὁ δίκαιος καλούμενος after 'Ἀριστείδης δ' in line 7. It agrees with A, ἐπικαλούμενος.

182. 11. ἐλάμβανον ἑξίόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι: this reading of f and some other Mss., though defended by F. in his preface, and Cobet, on Hyperid. *Epitaph.*, p. 36, has found a place in none of the edit. except S. and R. The usual reading, followed by W., is ἐλάμβανον; ὧν ἑξίόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι. The Fayum Frag. sustains the reading of the text with the omission of ἐστί.

183. 1. The Fayum Frag. agrees with A h and W. in retaining ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

184, 185. The usual order of these epigrams in the Mss. and edit. of both Aesch. (including the Fayum Frag.) and Plut. *Cim.* 7, is 1st ἦν ἔρα κτλ., 2d ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ κτλ., 3d ἔκ ποτε κτλ. See E. A. Richter in *Jahrb.* XC. (1866), pp. 30-34.

186. 9. αὐτῷ γραφῆναι: here W.'s canon is brilliantly justified by the Fayum Frag. A h have γραφῆναι πρώτῳ, B πρώτῳ γραφῆναι. W. omits, of course, πρώτῳ. The Fayum Frag. omits this as well as αὐτῷ. Nepos, *Milt.* 6, *prima*, favors the retention of πρώτῳ. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 34, mentions other generals in the picture.

187. 1. After μητρόφ W. omits with e l and S. παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον.

187. 12. After προσέβαλλον W. omits with Hamaker τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι φυλήν. Adam, p. 43, would omit also ὅτε . . . προσέβαλλον.

189. 7. After ἀρετὴν W. omits ἥς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται. A h n omit καί.



195. 2 f. After *Σπειρέα* W. omits with S. *γράφοντά τι* (not in A h) *παρὰ τοὺς νόμους*. A and B contain also *στεφανοῦν* before *ἓνα*, but this is rejected by most editt., bracketed by Bekk., Bremi, retained by R. Before *συγκατελθόντων* elh have *ἀπὸ φυλῆς αὐτῶν*. B k have *αὐτῶν ἀπὸ φυλῆς* after *συγκατελθόντων*, which is adopted by the editt. All except R., Bekk., and Dobson change *αὐτῶν* to *αὐτῶν*.

195. 6. *κατελθόντας*: W. for *μένοντας* of Mss. and editt. After *ἐξελαύνειν* A h have *γράφοντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους*. B has *παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γράφοντά τι*. W. omits. The other editt. except Bekk. follow B. Cob. agrees to all of W.'s omissions in this section, and would omit also *ἓνα . . . συγκατελθόντων* and *Θρασύβουλος*.

196. 3. After *εὐρημένων* W. omits *ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ*.

197. 1. *δικαίῳ συνηγόρῳ*: W. retains *δικαίῳ* with A h, though g m n have *συνηγόρῳ δικαίῳ*. W. omits with A h *καὶ σώφρονι*, contained in the other Mss. after *δικαίῳ*. The editt., except R., Bekk., Bremi, and Champlin, read *συνηγόρῳ δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι*.

197. 7. *μῆ*: retained by W., though not contained in A h. Adam, pp. 28 ff., argues at length for the correctness of A h, taking *λύνει τὸ παράνομον* of the action of a jury in putting a stop to illegal measures by a condemnation, as in § 8. 8.

198. 2 f. e omits *τὴν ὀργὴν . . . ψῆφον αἰτεῖ*, which is clearly a carelessness that spoils the meaning of the passage. B and some other Mss. omit *ὅρκον αἰτεῖ*. The editt., which all retain it, put it before *νόμον αἰτεῖ*, inverting the order of A. This seems necessary in order to preserve the clinax.

198. 3. For a collection of cases of anaphora and antistrophe in Dem., see Rehdantz, *Dem. Index*, I. p. 158.

201. 7. After *ἐκείνου* W. omits *ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν*. W. 1872 retains *ἐθέλετε*.

202. 3. After *προσδέχεσθε* A h have *σοφιστήν*, B *κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον*, which is followed by the editt. — *οἰόμενον . . . ἀναιρήσειν*: W. has followed the suggestion of Bake and Cob. so far as to bracket. The repetition from § 16 was the cause of suspicion. These critics do not believe that the repetition of phrases is characteristic of Aeschines, but has been foisted upon him by bungling or unscrupulous copyists. To eradicate this feature, however, they must go farther than they have yet done. Line 2 is like § 200. 6. Line 7 like § 198. 3. § 101. 4 is like § 237. 4. § 141. in. like § 239. 4. § 214. 6 like § 246. 6. § 179. fin. like § 232. fin.

205. 9. *ἀπολογεῖσθαι*: the const. is complicated by W.'s dropping of *βούλεται* B, *βούλοισι' ἂν* A h, after *πότε*. Cob. retains *βούλεται*, but rejects *βούλεται* in line 10, with the remark, *Quis in tali verborum compositione οὐ γὰρ — ἀλλὰ idem verbum umquam repetit?*

207. 1. *ᾶ . . . ταῦθ'*: W. *ᾶ . . . τοῦθ'*. A h have *ταῦθ'*, which led W. to change *ᾶ* also to sing. This is prob. one of the careless errors so common in A h. Greek usage favors the pl. W. 1872 follows all editt. in having the pl.

208. 3. εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι: W. εἰ οἶός σου ἦσαν. W. 1872 follows the editt. in the reading of the text. The only Ms. variation is that A h have εἰ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν σοί.

209. 3. περιεγράψατέ με: W. with h k. e l give the curious form περιεγράψετε. B has περιγράψατε and the addition ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. This is followed by all editt. except R., who has, on very weak Ms. authority, εἰ περιεγράψετε με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας.

210. 3. After Κτησιφῶν W. omits δ' ὅ' ἄγών οὐκ ἀτίμητος. If retained, it is interr., οὐκ being controlled by the previous οὐχ, as in § 132. 8. The case was τίμητος, i.e. one in which the penalty was to be fixed by the jury. W. remarks that one would hardly say οὐχ δ' ἄγών οὐκ ἀτίμητος, and that the fact expressed by the words is utterly irrelevant. Both these statements are disputable. All editt. retain the phrase. W. also omits οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, which B places after οὐ δ', A h after ἐπιτιμίας. The editt. follow B.

212. 6. πάντας: W. with R., Bekk., Dobson, Bremi, Champlin. It is lacking in the other editt. and in B. It is, however, in thorough keeping with Aeschines' spirit of exaggeration.

212. 11. οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσσodon: W. has οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ κεφάλαιον, οὐδὲ πρόσωπον ἀλλὰ πρόσσodon, following a suggestion of Westermann. Simeox says, "Of Westermann's reading the only thing one can say is that it is a great pity that Aeschines did not write it." But does not the Mss. reading express more forcibly the same idea as the conjecture?

222. 7. ὅ ποτε: Adam. W. has ὅ ποτε; A h, ὅποτε; B, ὅτε; Cobet, ὅτῳ. ὅποτε and ὅτε leave the description too indefinite. In ὅ ποτε and ὅτῳ the dative is objectionable, as the comparison should be made with the Lacedæmonian fleet, which was the one blotted out. To this also the number 'sixty-five' seems to point. Diod. xv. 34 gives this as the number of Lacedæmonian ships, while the Athenians, acc. to his account, had eighty-three. Cobet feels this difficulty, and interchanges ἐξήκοντα and ὀγδοήκοντα in Diod. In the present reading which differs from A h only in the spacing of ὅποτε, Λακεδαιμόνιους καὶ Πόλλιν, though an unusual case of appos., seems required to make ὅ, the obj. of the verb, more definite.

224. This section affords an unusual number of differences between W. and the textus receptus. διαστρεβλώσας: BS. δις στρεβλώσας. — γράψας: BS. ἔγραψας. — παρ' ᾧ καὶ ποτ' ἐν ᾧρεῶ κατηγάγον: BS. καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν ᾧρεῶ κατήγον. After ἐνέβαλες BS. have ἐνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμεenos. καί. After περιέστασαν BS. have τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. W. makes the omission in line 5 because A h have κατ' ἀνδρὲς φίλου καὶ ξένου.

226. 8. ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν πεποιηκώς: W. ἀγαθοῦ μὲν μηδ' ἐνός. A h have μηδὲν πεποιηκώς, B πεποιηκώς μηδέν. W. 1872 simply changed the reading of A h to μηδ' ἐν. His reasons for the later change are not discernible.

228. 2. ἀξίον καὶ μάλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν: W. 1872 has δεῖ instead of ἀξίον. W.'s only reason for differing from the vulgate, ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα, is the following slight variations in the Mss. I μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶ, e k h μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶν,



B ἀγανακτῶν μάλιστα. The reading of 1 (the question of order apart) seems to be substantiated by comparison with the other Mss.

228. 4. ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι: W. ἐκείνων φωνῇ οὐ κηλεῖσθαι. W. 1872 has ἐκείνων φῶδαι φησιν οὐ κηλεῖσθαι. The reading here adopted is that of B and the edit. The reading of A h, ἐκείνας φησιν οὐ κηλεῖν, does not join well with the mid. ἀπόλλυσθαι.

229. 3. τὴν πόλιν ἀγάθ' ἐργαζόμενον: W. 1872 keeps the vulgate, except that τὴν πόλιν, the reading of A h, is preferred to τῇ πόλει of B. Cob. declares that ἐργάζεσθαι and not κατεργάζεσθαι is necessary in such combinations, and that ἀγαθὸν or κακὸν is also necessary to define the verb. W. accepts this.

230. 9. [ἰδὲ . . . ἡμέραν]: Herwerden, *Mnem.*, V. p. 194, agrees with W. in regarding this as a gloss. It is contained in all Mss. and edit.

232. 7. κυκλούς χώρους: while the dithyrambic chorus retained the original circular form, the dramatic chorus was changed to an arrangement by rank and file, with a view to certain evolutions. See A. Müller, *Bühnenaltertümer*, in Hermann's *Gr. Antiq.*, pp. 202 ff. Cf. Poll. iv. 108 ff.

233. 7 f. After λυκεῖ W. omits δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα of the Mss. and edit. After γεγένηται he omits ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὲς φέρεται, also contained in all Mss. and edit. Both phrases seem to be of the nature of glosses.

234. 7 ff. κατέλυσαν: W. κατέκλυσαν. W. 1872 gives the same reading with the note "A h κατέλυσαν" (really acc. to S. and Bekk. κατέλευσαν). No other edit. even mentions W.'s reading as in any Mss.—ἐνεχειρίζει: W. ἐνεκεχειρίκει, which he himself has confessed to be a lapsus calami (*Jahrb. CXVII.* 1878, p. 853).

243. 8. ἀνέλι: all Mss. and edit. have ἀπέκτεινε, which, differing from the usual word ἀπέκοψε, has given some question. F. in his preface noted Bake's scruples with approval. W. 1872 has διέφθειρε.

246. 3 f. δημόσια: A h have δημόσια δίκαια, B and all edit. δημόσια κηρύγματα. By the disagreement of the Mss. and the application of W.'s method (see Introd. to critical notes) the gloss stands revealed, and the original expression gains comprehensiveness and force.—ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα: W. with A h. B and all edit. add καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας.

247. 1. θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω: W. with A h θεωροῦντες . . . οὕτω, understanding a lacuna. The reading of the text, that of B and the edit., closes the lacuna.

250. 1. After δεινόν A h have ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκεῖ, B δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι. All edit. contain it in one order or another.—ᾧ: most edit. with a g m have εἰ. n in this case agrees with A h and is followed by W. and Bekk. εἰ, however, seems more in keeping with Aeschines' usage in this combination, which is a favorite one with him. Cf. §§ 158, 230, 242, 244, 258.

252. 2 ff. ἀχθομαι . . . ἐκπλεῖν. W. with A h. The edit., following B, give ἀχθομαι δὲ πολλὰς μεμνημένος τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν, usually (ἀχθομαι . . . πόλεως).



252. 8. After εἰσαγγέλθη A h have καὶ ἴσαι αὐτῷ αἱ ψῆφοι ἐγένοντο, B καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο. On account of this varying order W. omits. After μία the Mss. and editt. have μόνον. W. follows Harpocr., s.v. ἴσαι ψῆφοι. After ἂν W. with S. omits ἣ ἀπέθανεν, contained in Mss. and editt. except Bens., who following Harpocr., l.c., has καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

256. 1. Most editt., while repeating the remark of F., nonnulla excidisse videntur, do not make the lacuna evident in the text.

257. 7. After δημοκρατίαν W. with S. omits ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν as a gloss. After σωφρόνως W. omits ὡς προσήκεν αὐτῷ.

## GREEK INDEX.

The references to the Introduction are by pages; other references are to section and line of the Greek text. The references generally indicate that the word is commented upon in the notes; but some words and phrases of frequent occurrence have been catalogued, to illustrate Aeschines' vocabulary.

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